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ABSTRACT

This study compares parent participation in a suburban New York school district with parent participation in five Chicago city schools. Section one provides an overview of the study, which was based on an examination of external innovations (such as laws, court orders, and new programs) that created new bases for parents to become involved in educational decision making at the local school level. Section two reviews characteristics of the suburban school district studied and characteristics of the school system which appeared to influence parent participation in major issues (budget controversies, school board elections, facilities, school community relations). In sections three through five, the history, personnel networks, and social characteristics of several suburban parent groups are then reconstructed and interaction settings and resources mobilized by these groups are described. The remainder of the study focuses on the urban research, with section six detailing methodological criteria. Sections seven and eight compare variations in parent participation levels in the five urban sites, and provide researchers' and community organizers' comments regarding the parent participation data. Implications of the study's findings for policymakers, administrators, and parents are discussed in section nine. Appended to the study are conceptual and theoretical background, as well as research instruments utilized. (GC)

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PARENTS' SCHOOL NETWORKS

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF SCHOOL-COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENTS AND PARENT PARTICIPATION

Conducted for the
National Institute of Education
by
The National Opinion Research Center
Chicago, Illinois

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PREFACE

My interest in comparing parent participation in suburban and urban school districts began in 1967. At that time I was working (as a researcher) on evaluations of federally funded compensatory programs in the New York City school system while my oldest child was enrolled in a suburban public school. Most of the people I interviewed in New York City (school administrators, teachers, parents, community organization members and other researchers) explained levels of parent involvement in terms of stereotypes.

It was assumed that there were higher levels of parent participation in suburban districts because most residents were middle class. The urbanites I interviewed were under the impression that this class status provided parents with the "power" to "run" their children's schools (including the hiring and firing of principals and teachers) and a belief system that placed a high value on formal schooling.

Lower levels of participation among inner city poor and minority parents were attributed to their relative powerlessness, problems associated with poverty, "lack of interest" in formal schooling and a more highly centralized professional bureaucracy.

The stereotypes about suburban parent participation did not apply to my child's school district, which I call "Eastport." A majority were middle class, but few were active in school affairs. They were not provided with information about the schools (which were, in 1967, overcrowded), and hardly any had ever attended a school board meeting. The few who told me that they had tried to improve the quality of the curriculum or teaching, said they had given up because administrators and teachers resented parent "interference" or they could not find enough parents who were "really" interested.

I felt it was important to document the experiences of suburban parents who tried to influence educational decisions since almost every strategy devised to improve educational services for inner city minority students is based on the middle class model. This generalization applies particularly to compensatory programs and such political reforms as decentralization. Essentially, these reforms perceive minority students and their parents as "disadvantaged" in comparison to their suburban peers and aim to provide services for students and participatory

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structures for parents to help eliminate the differences. Federally funded compensatory programs, for example, include a parent participation component--usually called a "parent advisory council" (PAC). Although policy-makers intended that the PACs provide parents with an opportunity to participate in program decisions, they have rarely had this effect.

Evaluations of these PACs indicate that parents have not been provided with resources to do the job: participants are usually selected by school administrators, they are not given any training and most of the time are merely asked to approve decisions made by school personnel (Davies, 1977).

The inability of some urban decentralization experiments to bring about the anticipated redistribution of power between parents and professionals led some analysts to conclude that the reformers did not understand the nature of participation in the suburbs (LaNoue and Smith, 1973). Others concluded that the new forms did not give urban parents sufficient power in decisions relating to budget and curriculum (Gittell, 1973). Regardless of how the results are interpreted, there persists a belief that there is some way to restructure the schools so that poor inner city parents can end up with the political advantages of suburban parents.

My observations of parent participation in Eastport led me to question the decentralization rhetoric. When I reviewed the research literature on parent participation and community decision making, I discovered that the situation in Eastport was not unique. Most of the studies, conducted during the late 1950s and early 1960s, indicated that both urban and suburban school systems were relatively closed to parent influence in school policy. The powers originally delegated by the states to local school boards had been taken over by professional educators. The rules governing parent participation were defined by the professionals.

There were no formal procedures for parents to play a constructive role in the formulation of educational policy. Such activities were prohibited by the by-laws of the very organization that had been set up to represent parents: the PTA. (These by-laws were changed in 1972 and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers now encourages parents to participate in policy issues, including collective bargaining with teachers.) Thus, all established channels for parent access to decisions were restricted to supportive participation. Parents and non-parents who chose to oppose administrative policies usually had to create ad hoc groups and were frequently labelled by researchers as "disruptive forces" (Steinberg, 1979).

These early studies had several weaknesses. Analysts concentrated on formal structures and official role incumbents. The investigation of informal social processes and influence was limited to relationships between elite citizens and school officials. When constituents have been included they are typically representatives of established voluntary associations. As a result our knowledge about the role of informal social processes and the methods by which excluded groups mobilize and develop influence is slim. Besides their neglect of informal social processes and non-elites, the community power studies do not consider the impact of increased federal initiatives--particularly on the participation of women.

A central thesis underlying this study is that the research focus on formal structures has created a narrow and distorted picture of parent participation in both the suburban and urban contexts. Since my initial recognition of the problem, I have had several opportunities to observe parent participation in urban settings. These experiences include the research for my doctoral thesis which dealt with the impact of federal bilingual education policy in New York City (Steinberg, 1978) and a national study of school-related advocacy groups sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation (Designs for Change).

The first section of this report is based on data from a follow-up study of five Eastport parent groups that mobilized in the early 1970s to change programs provided for their children. Perhaps the most significant finding is that to effect program changes, the parents had to form new groups and mobilize outside of the school system. Then, when school board or administrative policies were resisted by local building principals or teachers, they had to sustain the groups and engage in long and frustrating struggles with local professionals.

What, some readers may ask, can we learn from the experience of a few parents in one suburban school district? Others, concerned with the problems of poor inner city minority parents, may question the relevance of the suburban experience to the urban context.

There are at least two reasons to study these parents. First, since so many people are convinced that it's easy for suburban parents to influence their children's schools, it would be interesting to identify the resources required to bring about change. Then, I wanted to look at some inner city school districts to see if poor minority parents would have access to comparable resources. This is the focus of the second phase of the study reported here. Although the inclusion of new interests frequently involves the mobilization of new groups, there are few micro-level studies of the process (Oberschall, 1973). A second purpose, therefore, was to develop methods for comparative analysis.

The study was funded by a division of the National Institute of Education interested in social networks, which explains the focus on the social processes associated with the formulation and development of the parent groups. The theoretical framework developed for the study (see Appendix A) directed us to examine the personal networks of the group initiators' and principal actors. Our emphasis was on identifying the social context which promoted interactions crucial to the development of the group. Specifically, we wanted to find out if the contact was made within the school system, or the community, and if it was based on a formal or informal relationship (e.g., was the relationship between a parent and a teacher based on a formal meeting in the school or did they meet at a social gathering?). We were next interested in finding out how the nature of these relationships influenced the group's ability to develop influence (for example, are groups based on friendship more effective than groups based on acquaintances or strangers?).

Another decision, to concentrate on groups organized by women, was based on the following considerations:

- Supervision of the child's educational placement and achievement, in this country, has traditionally been assigned to the mother. Except for crises, attendance at school meetings (in Eastport as elsewhere) is typically dominated by mothers.

- Through their participation in the PTA (or comparable home-school organizations), and volunteering in various school activities, mothers have the highest access to information about local schools. Nevertheless, in many communities, they typically have little direct influence on policy decisions.

- It is frequently difficult for mothers to use established community organizations to pursue educational reforms, but our data suggest membership in organizations provides opportunities for mothers to develop informal networks to influence school policies. Little is known about these communication processes.

- In the past decade there has been a dramatic increase in the number of mothers of school-age children who have entered or re-entered the labor force. We know little about how this change will affect participation in local school-related issues and access to formal and informal sources of information and infuence.

- There is a need to explore the impact of school decentralization and the women's liberation movement on the relationships between schools and mothers. In some communities, as in Eastport, these movements have probably legitimated parent involvement in educational policy and may be changing the parent role expectations. Our data indicate that activist mothers often lack organizational skills and knowledge of bureaucratic procedures--a source of conflict in the parent-administrator relationship. We need to know more about the resources available to parents at the grass roots level to help them obtain this knowledge.

- Our data suggest that, regardless of socioeconomic status or organizational affiliations, in many communities it is difficult for mothers of handicapped children (or mothers of children who have been "labeled" in terms of some special problem) to enlist the support of other parents to get local schools to develop programs to meet the needs of these children.

Although the study concentrates on educational issues, a secondary objective is to identify the factors which promote effective citizen participation in an era when decisions affecting many public service delivery systems are being made increasingly at the state and federal level and where policy implementation is dominated locally by professionals.

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I. OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY: THE RESEARCH PROBLEM, QUESTIONS AND METHODS

A. PHASE I

The first phase of this study is concerned with external innovations which have created new bases for parents to participate in educational decision making at the local school level. The focus is on innovations which legitimate parents' efforts to influence what happens to their children in the school program (e.g., teaching methods and school based services) or "internal" issues, as compared to school finances and school board elections or "external" issues (Boyd, 1976). In recent history the ability of parents to participate in such decisions was rejected on the grounds that they lacked the necessary expertise. We view the external innovations as creating new resources for parent mobilization.

By external innovation we refer to national level events such as federal laws, court orders and new concepts. These innovations include the development of social science knowledge which supports curriculum modifications for students with special needs or handicaps, state and federal laws which require local districts to provide programs for these students, federal programs for disadvantaged and minority students and social movements or ideologies which have legitimated local demands. Some examples of the latter are civil rights, feminism, alternative education, child advocacy and school decentralization. (See Table I-1 which indicates the type of resources created by these innovations.)

The need to consider "extra-local stimuli" and variations in local conditions in the analysis of school-community conflicts was stressed by Wirt who views contemporary school conflicts as "reflections of the classic political tensions between the leaders and the led" (Wirt, 1976:61). A "Paradigm of Turbulent School Politics" offered by Wirt consists of 5 major variables:

1) Independent variables: "extra-local stimuli" and the mobilization of a constituency around a specific demand (e.g., shared control, finance reform, desegregation, etc.)

2) Intervening variables: community structure, and the interaction of demands

TABLE I-1. NATIONAL LEVEL EVENTS WHICH HAVE CREATED RESOURCES FOR LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICT PARENTS, 1965-1978*

EXTERNAL EVENT	TYPE OF RESOURCE							
	Legal Mandate	New Parent Statuses	New Basis for Parent participation	Program Money	Resources Innovations	Information/ Expertise	Moral support/ Legitimation	Other
1. Compensatory Education Legislation/1965-	federal	x	x	x (a,b)	(a,b)		x	
2. Bilingual Education Act/related federal guidelines 1968	x federal	x	x	x (a)	x (a,b)	x	x	Direct I tervent Advocacy (c)
3. Child Advocacy Movement/1970-	X (handicapped)	x	x	x a,	x b, c	x a,b,c	x a,b,c	Advocacy (c)
4. Student reights late 1960's early '70's	x a,b,c		x			x mainly c	x	Advocacy (c)
5. Citizen Participation/ Decentralization/'67		X v	x		x a,b,c	x mainly c	x	
6. Alternative School Movement '68-		possible	x	some a,b,c	x a,b,c	x	x	
7. Feminist movement/'67			x				x a, mainly c	

* Source of resources:
a - federal government agencies
b - state agencies
c - independent groups: voluntary associations, foundations

3) The focus of demands by school boards on administrators (superintendent, central office and principals)

4) The constraints imposed on local administrators by such outside forces as the "state and federal government, court orders, statutes or regulations"

5) Altered authority

In short, the local school district is viewed as an open system that is interdependent with the local as well as the national community.

Our earlier research on the impact of federal bilingual education policy on the New York City school system was consistent with the approach suggested by Wirt (Steinberg, 1978). Results of that research and observations of parent participation in Eastport between 1969 and 1974 (Steinberg, 1975) suggested that extra-community events or stimuli have contributed to four trends:

1. The erosion of universalistic standards for allocating educational services. Prior to these innovations variations in educational services were based on differential ability rather than individual needs. These standards permitted school districts, theoretically, to provide the same services to all students in specific categories (e.g., college prep vs. vocational).

2. The redistribution of influence in curriculum/program decisions. Parents now participate in decisions formerly dominated or controlled by educational professionals.

3. An increase in the scale of participation in educational decisions. The increase in state and federal initiatives in local school problems has made it possible for citizens to influence local decisions through actions at extra-local levels. (In terms of interpersonal social networks, the innovations have made extra-local ties relevant to local action.)

4. The creation of new resources for parents to develop influence in program decisions. Prior to these innovations, parent influence was dependent on prestige (upper income, acquisition of elite statuses) or the attainment of formal participatory roles (positions requiring election or appointment--criteria for acquisition determined by others). Influence was confined to issue areas defined by school personnel. The only way a parent could influence services provided for his/her own child was through some form of individual accommodation (e.g.,

getting the principal to change the child's teacher). Under this system, a parent could not organize within the school system for a special program. The external innovations make it possible for parents to mobilize around specific interests. (See Table I-2, Inventory of Formal Participatory Roles.)

The study reported here deals with the effects of the fourth trend: the resources created for parents to develop influence at the local level. For the first phase of the study we identified four groups of parents in one suburban community whose efforts to influence local school policies reflected an innovation or concept generated outside of the community. A fifth group that mobilized around a locally-generated issue was included for comparative purposes.

The analysis is based on the model shown in Figure I-1 which was derived from Wirt's paradigm and includes the following factors:

1) The history of the problem or issue at the local district level. In order to establish that the nationally generated innovation had an influence on local participation, we selected issues where previous efforts to effect change had been rejected by local authorities. We observed or interviewed parents involved in these efforts (in the late 1960s and early 1970s) and re-interviewed these parents in 1979 (as part of the present study).

2) Community characteristics. Coleman (1957) suggested that community conflicts and levels of participation are influenced by the history of community conflict, organizational structure, leadership and other contextual variables. Studies of decentralization which indicate that local implementation varies in different contexts (Boyd and O'Shea, 1975; Cibulka, 1975; Foley, 1976; Gittell, 1973; LaNoue and Smith, 1973; Peterson, 1975) support this perspective. Similar conclusions have been drawn from evaluations of Community Action Programs where variations in levels of participation were reported to be related to preexisting leadership within the minority and the larger community, government form, factors related to the program itself and others (Brandeis Study, 1971; Brecher, 1973; Cole, 1974; Kramer, 1973).

Section II reviews characteristics of three communities that share the Eastport school district and characteristics of the school system which appeared to influence variations in levels of participation around school issues over time. The history of Eastport's school-community

TABLE I-2. INVENTORY OF FORMAL PARTICIPATORY ROLES, AND ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS: EASTPORT SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1965-1978*

ROLE	School System Dependent**	Independent**
1. School Board member (representational)		Elected by majority vote. Selection by nominating caucus/ or ad hoc committee/or petition. Usual criteria: technical expertise (business, law, educaiton), previous community service.
2. Advisory Committee Member	Usually selected jointly by board and superintendent. Criteria: knowledge of community, technical expertise, ties to various community groups.	
3. Member, School Board Selection Commitee		Nominated by citizens at open meeting/elected by majority of residents by neighborhood. Criteria: community involvement, expertise.
4. PTA officer	Nominated by committee. Open nominations permitted but are rare. School personnel serve on nominating committee.	
5. Parent Advisory Councils	Nominated/elected by parents at meetings organized by school personnel. Criteria appears to be active in school.	
6. PTA executive board members.		Selected by PTA president. Criteria: experience, or interest in special committee assignments. (e.g., safety, health, special ed.
7. PT Council President and executive board	Selected by nominating committee consisting of PTA officers from district schools. Sup't present at all meetings. Criteria: PTA office.	

* Draft: Needs additional criteria

** Dependent: Definition: school personnel play formal role in process of selection/are consulted re agenda and attend most meetings. Meetings held in school buildings.

Independent: No formal role for school personnel in the process of selection.

Extra-Community stimuli

Federal laws
New concepts
Events

Community Characteristics

Population size/composition
History of school-community conflict
Organizational opportunity structure
Non-institutionalized opportunities for interaction

Characteristics of Conflict Group

Local Problem

History of problem
Background on parent grievances

Initiators & Initial Recruits

Length of residence
Prior involvement in school affairs
Organization membership
Religion, race
Ties to other parents
Ties to influentials

School System Response

Goal Attainment
Policy decision/not implemented
Compromise
Failure

School System Characteristics

Channels for citizen/parent participation: district & local school levels
Opportunities for parent interaction
Administrative-parent relations
Parent socialization

The Group

The problem/issue
Formation
Size
Division of labor
Resources
Strategy
Internal management
Effectiveness

Figure I-1. Hypothetical model for the analysis of the characteristics of community, school system, conflict groups and school system response.

conflicts identifies the major issues around which parents and citizens had mobilized at the district level (budget controversies, school board elections, facilities, and school-community relations), the channels for participation, local school controversies as well as administrative and school board efforts to respond to parent demands for increased participation. We looked also at the norms which influenced parent participation in the 1960s and how these norms had changed in the 1970s.

3) Characteristics of the conflict group initiators and characteristics of the conflict groups.

   Preliminary interviews with suburban parents involved in the issues selected for this study indicated that the groups were organized outside of the school system and initiated by one individual (with the exception of one group started by a clique of three people).

   In Section III we reconstruct the history of each group in terms of individual and group characteristics. The former category includes such factors as the initiator's experience with the problem or issue prior to forming the group, length of residence, involvement in school-community affairs, organizational membership and social ties to those recruited to the group and people outside the group who could be counted on to support the issue.

   Six group characteristics were included for the comparative analysis:

   a) Identification of the problem. Preliminary interviews were conducted with two or three informants who were identified as principal actors in each group, and knowledgeable observers. They were also asked to report on their initial experiences prior to involvement in the group.

   b) Formation of the group. The initiator and initial recruits were asked a series of questions about decisions related to the formation of the group, group structure, membership and the development of the group.

   c) Resources. Each person identified as a member of the group's core (defined as the people who did most of the work) was asked to name the people s/he perceived as the leader(s) and principal actors (people who might not have been core members but who obtained resources important to the group's activities). Each core member was asked about his/her major contribution to the group. These responses were checked with other members.

d) Strategy and negotiations with school administrators. Those members identified as most involved in the group's activities were asked to describe the key events leading to a policy decision, the level of administration involved in these events and any involvement with extra-local agencies (e.g., state or federal education authorities and political representatives, as well as voluntary associations located in other communities).

e) Internal management. Both core and peripheral members were asked about the following: socialization of new members, division of labor, group cohesion or fragmentation and other factors that might affect internal operations.

f) Effectiveness. The effectiveness of each group was rated in terms of three indicators: a policy or administrative decision that reflected the group's objective, implementation of the decision and the institutionalization of the innovation or change. An example of the third factor might be the creation of a PTA committee to deal with the program or the establishment of a new department. In addition, core members and school authorities involved with the issue (administrators and school board members) were asked for their subjective rating of the group's effectiveness.

Data for Section III are based on 56 interviews with core and peripheral members of the groups, and 38 interviews with school personnel, school board members and community influentials. Several were interviewed more than once. Other field methods included examination of school documents, newspaper articles and letters. Sampling criteria and research instruments are presented in Appendix B. Section IV summarizes data on the personnel networks and other social characteristics of 42 core members of the conflict groups.

B. PHASE II

An inventory of interaction settings and mobilization resources (Section V) was derived from the findings reported in

Sections III and IV. This inventory provided the basis for developing interview guides to be used in the urban phase of the study. The purpose was to see if poor and or minority inner city parents would have access to the same or comparable resources.

As mentioned above, the study began with the assumption that levels of parent participation are influenced by community characteristics and the prior history of school-community conflicts. This assumption was supported by the results of the case studies in Section III. The group initiators did not mobilize in a vacuum--there was a pool of potential recruits among parents who had made earlier efforts to affect change around the issue and the potential support of influentials (school administrators, school board members and opinion leaders) who might be sympathetic to the issue or recognize the legitimacy of the parents' demands once they were endorsed by external authorities.

The preliminary interviews established that the initiators of the groups supporting the externally endorsed innovations had few ties to other parents and no ties to influentials when they began their involvement with the issue. An important question was: how did they recruit others to support the issue and/or to participate in the group? Specifically, was the relationship formed within the school system or a community setting?

The rationale for this question is based on the assumption that it is through their personal networks (social ties) that members of a group obtain resources to promote the group's objective. A personal network is defined as the set of people who are connected directly to an individual (Mitchell, 1969). These resources include: influence (the ability to enlist support for an issue), information, moral support, and others.

Another assumption was that there are a variety of institutional and non-institutional settings which create opportunities for school parents to meet others with similar interests. The school system creates opportunities for parents to interact on an informal as well as formal basis--thereby enabling parents to expand the number of educationally relevant role partners.

A third assumption was that there exists a community organization structure which provides opportunities for parents to interact, exchange school information and mobilize around school issues. Since membership in these organizations is dependent on the ability to pay dues, attend meetings and (frequently) social attributes (religion, ethnicity, social class), participation in these structures will be restricted. Parents with relatively low access to these community structures will be more dependent on the school system and informal, or non-institutionalized, settings for opportunities to interact with other parents. Examples of the latter are: the neighborhood, and neighborhood based service facilities (shopping centers, recreational facilities, day care centers or nurseries, libraries and other cultural centers, etc.).

Each initiator was asked to identify the context in which s/he had met those identified as initial recruits to the group. Then, each core member (which included the initiator, initial recruits and late recruits), was asked to identify the context in which he/she had met all the persons perceived as likely to support their educational interests.

Since the school system was the most frequently cited interaction setting (for meeting both members of the group and those outside the group likely to support them), we looked at the various formal structures and activities for parent participation within the school setting that might provide parents with opportunities to interact with other parents and school personnel. We also looked for opportunities for parents to develop leadership. These structures and activities are also found in Section V.

A majority of the social ties mentioned by our respondents were formed in various non-institutionalized settings: they were neighbors, parents of children's friends, or people met at social gatherings in private homes. This finding led us to compare the core members' personal networks in relation to their involvement in school and community affairs, and the extent to which they work and social life was concentrated in the community.

Women with the largest personal networks (school related) and the most ties to influentials were volunteers (they did not hold paid jobs outside the home at the time of their involvement with school issues), they were current or past PTA officers, they belonged to two or more community associations (including religious organizations), and half or more of their close friends lived in the school district. Women with smaller personal networks and few ties to influentials, tended to work outside the district, were not active in the PTA, and belonged to more extra-local organizations (usually professional groups).

The men who had the largest personal networks and most ties to influentials worked in the community and belonged to two or more local organizations.

There emerged, from these network related characteristics and other information from the in-depth interviews with current Eastport PTA leaders, some insights about the community characteristics that might promote parent participation and leadership, also listed in Section V.

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It should be obvious that we did not intend to develop generalizations on the basis of research in one community and no controls to enable us to compare active and less active parents. This was the primary objective of Phase II. The criteria for selecting 5 urban neighborhoods and research methods for Phase II are described in Section VI.

The resource inventory and list of school and community characteristics that appeared to promote parent interaction and leadership in Eastport were used to develop guides for interviews with parents and representatives of community based organizations in the 5 urban neighborhoods. (These guides and related instruments can be found in Appendix C.)

Section VII, which describes and compares variations in levels of parent participation in five urban neighborhoods, is based on over 100 interviews. Interviews included about 40 members of city level organizations involved with community groups working on educational issues and 92 community based actors (parents and grass roots organization members). The parent interview guide included such items as administration and teacher-parent relations, the structure and operation of the local school council or PTA, the respondents participation in local school and city level educational activities. Parents were also asked a series of questions about their personal school-related social ties similar to those asked the Eastport parents.

Three researchers and one community organizer familiar with grass roots mobilization around school issues in other urban settings, were asked to review a summary of the findings from the Eastport analysis. Their comments are included in Section VIII.

The implications of the findings for policy makers, school administrators and parents are discussed in Section IX.

II. THE SUBURBAN RESEARCH SITE

The Eastport School District is shared by the residents of three municipalities: the Village of Eastport, the Town of Brookdale and the Village of Old Haven. Before describing the district's six schools and the history of participation, we will summarize some of the community characteristics that affect participation in school affairs.*

A. BACKGROUND ON THE COMMUNITIES

Socioeconomic Characteristics. Since the groups included in this study were initiated in the early 1970s, this section is based on data from the 1970 Census. Because Brookdale is an unincorporated area, Census data for the area are included in the statistics on the Village of Eastport. Comparisons, therefore, can be made only between Eastport and Old Haven. The statistics show great disparities in the percent black population, mean income, the number of female headed households and education levels, in the two areas.

In 1970, the total population of Eastport was 18,909. Blacks comprised 8% of the total and slightly more than half (52%) were women. Fifty-two percent of the total residents were female. Other races, mainly Japanese, Indian and Chinese, were less than 1% of the total population. The mean income of families and unrelated individuals was $15,894. For female headed families (N=479), the mean income was $9,404. A little over 4% of the families (4.4%) were living below the poverty level. Of those aged 25 years and over, 35% had completed less than 4 years of high school and 21% had completed 4 years or more of college. There were 3869 children enrolled in the public schools, kindergarten through high school.

The total population of Old Haven, in 1970, was 7,203. Blacks comprised 1% of the total, and three-fourths were women. Here, too, a majority of the total population was female (54%), and other races came to less than 1%. The mean family income was $27,256. For female-headed households (N=143) it was $8,602. Only 1.9% of the families were living below the poverty level. Eighteen percent of the residents aged 15 years and older had completed less than 4 years of high school, and 42% had completed 4 years or more of college. About 2131 children were enrolled in the public school.

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*Pseudonyms are used in this and subsequent sections.

Our own observations and interviews with informants, support the conclusion that a majority of the poor and black residents are clustered in the Village, which is the most pluralistic of the three municipalities. A majority of the residents are in low level managerial blue collar, and service industries, but it also includes a "gold coast" (predominantly Jewish) section. Many of the residents in what appears to be a fairly large Italian section, send their children to parochial schools. It is reported that a majority of the custodial workers in the Eastport schools are Italians from this section. Several light manufacturing enterprises are clustered near the railroad station.

Brookdale and Old Haven are similar in terms of socioeconomic characteristics.* Though each includes some areas with low property values, the majority of the single family dwellings are in the higher brackets. They are bedroom communities that attract business executives and professionals with young families.

Religion. Based on responses to a 1970 questionnaire about the school budget (a random sample of the district's households), 42% of the households are Catholic, 27% Protestant and 20% Jewish. Five percent of the respondents said they had no religious affiliation or were atheists (6% refusal rate on this item). Before World War II, Brookdale and Old Haven had few Jewish residents. Some had either changed their names or were married to non-Jews. Old Haven has historically had a large and wealthy Catholic population. One reason it was attractive to this group was the location of a Catholic parish in the "Manor" section--a high rent district adjacent to the waterfront. There is a very well-known yacht club in Old Haven which, to this day, does not accept Jewish members (except for one or two "house" Jews).

All three municipalities appear to have an equal proportion of Catholics. An important change is the decline in Catholic school enrollments which paralleled increases in the public schools during the mid-1960s.

There were undercurrents of religious antagonisms in several school controversies observed between 1970 and 1974--particularly those related to teaching methods and discipline.

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*This similarity does not show up in the Census data since it combines Brookdale and the Village of Eastport.

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School affairs are dominated by Catholic and Jewish women and the number of the latter is disproprotionate to their share of the population. In 1974, just before Christmas, there was a bitter controversy in Old Haven over the display of a religious creche in front of the Village Hall. A decision not to display the creche that year was made by the Old Haven City Council in response to an interfaith group (of religious leaders). Many Catholics assumed the decision was a response to Jews. However, most of the Jews we interviewed were resigned to the display and wanted to avoid any conflict over the issue.

Since 1970, there has been an increase in Jews and decline in Protestants. A study conducted for Old Haven's Protestant church reported a decline in membership of 43.8% between 1965 and 1977.

Recreation. All three municipalities have parks, tennis and other public recreational facilities. The Village is the only one, however, that maintains a public beach which can be used by residents of all three areas (for a fee). In 1970, when the new middle school opened, its swimming pool became available to residents of the three municipalities after school hours and during the summer. All other waterfront property is owned by homeowners or private clubs. Residents of Old Haven who live within a specified area are permitted to use a small beach, according to terms set up by a former owner of most of the property in the "Manor" section.

Boating facilities are privately owned. Town residents, if they want to use public bathing facilities, and Old Haven residents who do not fall within the "map" permitted to use the beach, must use the Village beach. Those who can afford it, join private clubs or own summer homes. Resentment over the exclusionary practices of the private clubs is another indication of the racial and religious factionalism within Brookdale and Old Haven.

Local Politics. Historically, Brookdale and Old Haven governing boards have been dominated by Republicans. The effects of population change on municipal elections did not become visible until the early 1970s when a liberal Democrat won a seat on the Old Haven board. By 1977 the Democrats had captured 3 positions on a 6-seat board. Party lines are less rigid in the Village, and the extent of cross-party voting seems to be related to personalities. Of the three municipalities, the Village has, by far, the largest number of public jobs including a city manager and other administrators. Village board members tend to be from lower SES categories than those in the other two areas. Publicly, the elected officials maintain a "hands off" policy toward the schools.

B. THE SCHOOLS

In 1970, the Eastport school district included approximately 6,000 students enrolled in 4 elementary schools, a middle school and a high school. This section will describe each school.

Davis School. Davis, which has always had the smallest enrollment of the 4 elementary schools (around 500 in 1970), is the only elementary school eligible for Title I funds and since 1965 has had a pre-kindergarten program and small classes in the early grades. The school is located at the end of the Village's main shopping area, central to the predominantly black and Italian neighborhoods. It is more than a half-mile walking distance from the less dense and more affluent sections of Brookdale included in the Davis zone.

A citizen study committee which reviewed land use around the 6 district schools in 1976, noted that Davis had the most undesirable location of the 4 elementary schools. The committee's report noted that Davis was adjacent to industrial, commercial, and heavy traffic along the Village's main thoroughfare, in addition to its "relative isolation" from other community institutions.

Ward School. Approximately 750 students were enrolled in the Ward School in 1970, which was built in 1967. It is attended by children from the Gold Coast section of the Village and children who live in several multiple family residences surrounding the school. This school has the reputation of having the most innovative programs and the only district principal with an Ed.D. degree (in 1970).

Although Ward is located in a more desirable site than Davis--it has a "park-like setting" shielded from heavy traffic (according to the committee report), it "lacks a range of supporting community facilities." Another negative feature of this school is the fact that it serves children from the three municipalities. "There has been and continues to be an emphasis on maintaining their separateness and individuality" (CAPC Reorganization Plan, 1976).

Cornwall School. This school, which has maintained an enrollment of about 850 children since 1970, is centrally located in the Village of Old Haven. It received the most positive comments in the citizen's report which referred to Cornwall as "a vital part of a neighborhood center surrounded by community facilities and services--churches, shops, post office, civic center, library and small parks . . . The fact that the location was chosen in 1902 would indicate that what planners are trying to achieve through careful design in new towns here and abroad may have happened quite by accident" in Old Haven (CAPC Reorganization Plan).

On the negative side, the amount of land around Cornwall is way below standard (the original 2.8 acres has been increased to 3.2, but most of the additional land is still occupied by private homes rented by the school district) and 2 citizen committees have recommended that the older sections be demolished.

Maplewood. The Maplewood School is in Brookdale and serves about 900 students. It is centrally located, "buffered from the heaviest traffic . . . but its setting, like the rest of the neighborhood, lacks the ancillary community facilities and services that reinforce the Cornwall school site" (CAPC Plan). Here, again, the size of the site (4.2 acres) is inadequate.

Maplewood has the reputation of being the "best" elementary school in the district. Though no statistics are available on this factor, it is believed to have a disproportionate number of Jewish families--many of whom look down on Cornwall because the latter has the reputation of having a high Catholic enrollment.

The Middle School. This school occupies 8.5 acres and is centrally located at the borders of the Village and Old Haven. Its enrollment is between 1000 and 1100 since it opened in 1968. It was designed to accomodate sixth graders "to preclude the need for additional school facilities in the immediate future" (Master Plan, 1966). However, the expansion of elementary school enrollments, projected by demographers when the Middle School was built, has not materialized.

The Middle School includes a pool, tennis courts, ball fields and rooms for community meetings.

The High School consists of 2 buildings, an original structure built in 1925, and the former junior high. In 1964 the 2 buildings were rehabilitated and connected by an overpass. There are 26.5 acres around these buildings, some of which is occupied by the former Ward School now used as offices for the school district and the Town.

Since the late 1960s the high school enrollment has ranged from 2200 to 2400 students (grades 9-12). A house plan, instituted in 1968, was abolished in 1970 following budget defeats and complaints about the number of high school assistant principals.

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Both the Middle School and the High School are located on heavily trafficked main streets, adjacent to shopping centers and fast food shops. Because of this location, the Middle School has maintained a closed campus.* In 1968 an open campus was established at the High School.

C. DISTRICT LEVEL PARTICIPATION

From 1945 to 1970 public participation in Eastport school affairs could occur through 5 channels: 1) voting, 2) the nominating process, 3) board appointed citizens' committees, 4) school board meetings and 5) ad hoc interest groups. None of these channels had been utilized to promote sustained involvement in educational affairs, thus participation was issue-based or episodic. Issues resolved through referenda are limited to finances and school board candidates. Attempts to influence policy making were channeled through ad hoc committees because of the absence of any specialized educational interest group.

During the period from 1961 to 1967, the administration of Eastport schools exhibited several characteristics associated with the school board reform movement (Callahan, 1975). Centralized decision-making was insulated from the community at large and dominated by professionals. Professional domination was reinforced by participatory norms. Parents who served on school committees were selected by school administrators and acquiesced to professional control. Parent participation in the PTA and the other institutional channels mentioned above, was dominated by a coalition of "liberal" Democrats (mainly women who belonged to the League of Women Voters and religious groups) who felt a need to protect the schools from "conservative" Republicans and parent pressure groups.

Analysis of voting statistics before 1968, the first date that the budget was defeated, suggests that turnout is related to bond issues, the size of the budget and school board contests. Ninety-seven residents voted in 1960. In 1970 the number had risen to 5,332. Since that time, turnout has been relatively stable but the budget is usually passed by very narrow margins (on either the first or second vote).

Seventy-five percent of the school budget is raised through local taxes (mainly real estate) and the rest through state and federal aid. The 1970 survey on attitudes toward the budget found that the community was almost evenly divided between those who had voted for the budget, or said they would have voted for it if they had voted, and those who were against the budget. The remainder consisted of only 9% of the eligible voters.

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*Students are prohibited from leaving the school grounds during the school day unless parents provide written permission. This restriction includes lunch time.

The Nominating Process. Before the school board reform movement caught up with the district, in 1945, school affairs in Eastport are reported by "old-timers" to have been controlled by "back-room" politics and local interests. In 1945 the reformers instituted a Selection Committee and procedures for the election of non-partisan school trustees.

Despite the 1945 reform, educational decision making continued to be controlled by local interests through the promotion of "insiders" to the superintendency by conservative school boards. Relatively stable costs were maintained by neglecting the school plant.

This led, around 1959, to the activation of a new group of reformers who wanted to modernize the hich school and replace the deteriorated old Ward School. Their involvement in the selection committee brought about the nomination of more "liberal" school trustees who hired an "outside" superintendent in 1961.

Limited participation, usually about 200 residents, characterized involvement in the nominating process from 1961 to 1969. Although any citizen was eligible to participate, few were aware of the process until 1970. Up to 1969, the Selection Committee was organized on a geographic basis with 12 elected members who appointed 12 additional members. The criteria for electing and appointing members varies with changes in participants. Procedures for electing the selectors were changed in 1969, when the process was opened to the entire community, rather than just those who attended the Selection Committee's annual meeting.

Judging from the characteristics and behavior of a majority of board members and interviews with former members of the Selection Committee, the criteria for selecting candidates in the reform period included: high business or professional status, specialized knowledge (usually limited to finance and the law), participation in civic associations, and a "pro-school" attitude. A "pro-school" attitude was defined as the desire to improve the school system, approve increased spending, support the existing system, and accept professional control of the educational program. Former teachers, and other educators, were excluded on the superintendent's advice that these people tend to have "definite" opinions about education and a tendency to "interfere" in school administration. Vocal critics were excluded on the

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grounds that they had an "axe to grind" and would make it difficult for the board to cooperate with the administration. Residents active in partisan politics were also excluded in order to "keep politics out of education."

These criteria led to non-controversial, status-congruent boards dominated by acquiescent males with little knowledge of education other than that gained from their own experience, and little knowledge of the community beyond their own peer groups.

The first signs of a new "anti-school" faction and a weakening of ties between the schools and school parents, appeared in 1966 with the election of an independent candidate. Further signs appeared in 1968 when 2 reportedly "anti-budget" businessmen (nominated by the Selection Committee) were elected to the board.

Selection Committee nominees for 1969 were again businessmen. They were reported to be "pro-school," but were said to believe that the schools could be run more efficiently. One independent candidate, an educational consultant, supported by a small faction of school critics, was rumored to be running to promote "special interests." Although this independent lost the 1969 election, he was nominated by the Selection Committee in 1971 and won.

The domination of the board by businessmen, the elimination or reduction of school services, rumors that the 1967-1968 Selection Committee meetings were "stacked" by "conservatives," combined with some board-initiated innovations to increase participation of "anti-budget" groups, appear to have activated the "pro-school" group and a few residents associated with the early reform period. Selection Committee nominees since 1969, for the most part, have been school and civic volunteers. (The board, since 974, has been dominated by former PTA presidents.)

By 1972-73 the board, for the first time, included a majority that perceived the community as pluralistic, rather than controlled by a large dominant group. The change was reflected in a policy supporting the development of alternative learning programs. Previous boards were inclined to reject parent requests for innovations or alternatives on the ground that the community was dominated by educational "conservatives" who would vote down the budget if they didn't like the changes.

School Board Meetings. When this study began, bi-monthly open board meetings were typically attended by about two dozen people including the president of the district's teachers' association, a few staff members, PTA presidents and a few active parents. Since the board maintained a policy of unanimity, most decisions were made in closed executive sessions and the annual budget was announced only a few weeks before election, educational affairs were not salient to the community at large. Public attendance at open board meetings rose in 1968 and 1969 when overcrowding and inreased costs became visible.

Public apathy, in relation to school affairs prior to 1968, was fostered by the insulation of decision making and monopolization of information by the superintendent and school activists. The superintendent is reported to have told active parents that the up-grading of the school system required strong support of "liberals," a compliant school board and suppression of participation by the community at large which he believed to be dominated by a "conservative" local faction. Thus criticism at school board meetings was usually attributed to conservatism or personal dissatisfaction. Critics were accused of "attacking" the schools and excluded from participatory roles.

This situation began to change in 1968, following the defeat of the budget and a bond issue, and a parents' revolt against the transfer of sixth graders from Cornwall and Maplewood Schools to the Davis and Ward Schools.

D. LOCAL SCHOOL PARTICIPATION

According to Oberschall (1973) and others (e.g., Kriesberg, 1973), the emergence of conflict groups at the community level is dependent on 4 conditions: a shared grievance, opportunities for people with shared grievance to interact, lack of access to local authorities and leadership capable of recruiting supporters. Whether or not local protest groups will emerge, and their effectiveness, is related to local and extra-local circumstances. These factors will vary in different historical periods.

Therefore, before looking at how the 5 conflict groups included in this study were initiated, it is important to consider some local and extra-local conditions which preceded mobilization. This background will help to answer 3 questions:

1. Why did the groups emerge when they did?
2. Why did certain actors assume leadership roles?
3. Why did the parents have to form new groups?

For this discussion, we will compare the participation of Eastport parent activists in 2 periods. The first period involved parents who were active in the 1968-1970 events described in the preceding section. The second period involved the parents who mobilized in the early 1970s.

The Early Activists. Each of the issues included in this study had a pre-history. In all cases, individual parents had met with school authorities to discuss their concerns related to the issue(s) purpursed by the conflict group; thev tried to enlist support of the various channels sponsored by the school system as well as the PTA. When these individual efforts failed, some parents recruited others with similar concerns to meet with school administrators and/or school board members.

These tactics did not work. Even when school officials or school board members sympathized with the parents' concerns, there was a host of reasons to justify maintaining the status quo: if the parents' objective required additional funds, they were told that tax-pavers would oppose budget increases for new services, those who wanted alternatives were told that they represented a small minority--the program was designed to serve the majority.

Once they had gone through the above channels, most parents gave up. The few who did try to mobilize typically found themselves labeled as "troublemakers."

There were 5 structural and cultural factors which restricted parent activists from mobilizing around their concerns during the early period: universalistic criteria for allocating educational resources, professional domination of decision making, administrative procedures, PTA by-laws, and middle class participatory norms.

During the 1960s parent requests for alternative programs and special services for children with learning disabilities, were regarded as illegitimate. Educational resources were allocated on the basis of universalistic standards. Variations in program offerings were based on differential abilitv rather than individual needs. These standards permitted school districts, theoretically, to provide the same services to all students in specific categories (e.g., college prep vs. vocational training), and to ignore or neglect special needs and handicapping conditions.

Professional domination of decisions related to curriculum and teaching methods was virtually guaranteed bv 3 strategies which constrained parents from taking their complaints/concerns about the adequacy of services provided for their children beyond the building principal. These mechanisms included administrative control of information, administrative domination of PTA procedures which served to atomize parents and the "neurotic mother" syndrome.

Parents were not provided with information (and in some cases neither was the school board) about the adequacy of the services provided, student achievement and other factors that might enable them to assess the adequacy of the curruculum. If a parent raised an issue at a PTA meeting, the principal invariably told her that this was an "individual" problem that should be discussed with the child's teacher, or with him in a private meeting (all the principals were men).

If the problem was not resolved by the teacher, the parent could then discuss it with the principal. After that s/he could bring it to the attention of the superintendent. The school board was the final recourse. Few mothers went beyond the classroom teacher and those that did found themselves labeled as the problem.

The parents we interviewed, who did go to the principal, reported that they were given one or more of the following reasons why the principal could do nothing about the problem:

1. The parent's request was against school policy, therefore his hands were "tied" by the central bureaucrats.

2. "You're the only parent who has complained about this." The implication was that there must be something the matter with the child--or the parent, since any "normal" child or parent would "adjust" to the teacher or the classroom like "everyone else."

3. "I can't tell my teachers how to run their classrooms. If I did, the union would get after me."

Since the above rules and responses tended to block open discussions about school-based problems, most parents were dependent on their own children and informal communication networks for information about what was going on in the classrooms. These informal networks consisted of other parents whose children were in the same classes, and teachers who were sympathetic to parents' concerns--especially teachers who lived in the community. It was through these informal channels that several parent activists discovered the "neurotic mother" syndrome.

This syndrome was based on the perception of principals and teachers that parents who complained were "over-protective" or "over-anxious." School staff viewed these parents as having unrealistic fears about what was happening to their children and a lack of trust in the professional's judgment. The overprotective label was usually attached to Catholic mothers who, according to the professional's diagnosis, feared that exposure to public education would weaken the authority of the home. Jewish mothers were typically regarded as over-anxious because they expected too

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much from their children as well as the teachers. Some teachers, particularly those who felt threatened by parents who challenged them, saw their major function to protect the child from the parents. (See Lightfoot, 1978, for a discussion of the conflict between teachers and middle-class parents.) Once these labels were assigned to them, the mothers were usually excluded from PTA positions.

Until 1972, when the National Congress of Parents and Teachers changed its by-laws, PTA members were prohibited from "interfering in administrative policy." Since issues related to the curriculum were placed in the "administrative" category, the PTA could not represent parent interests in these matters. One criteria for assuming PTA leadership roles was the mother's ability to "get along with the principal." Thus, women who had a history of challenging school practices were excluded from PTA and other leadership positions.

The norms governing the selection of parents and citizens for school board positions and advisory committees limited parent influence to a small handful who had already achieved elite status through previous leadership positions in the community or the metropolitan area. The influence of the parents who could achieve these positions, however, was narrow--usually limited to decisions related to the school plant and the budget (Kerr, 1962). The only way a parent could influence services provided for his/her child was through some form of individual accommodation (e.g., getting the principal to change the child's teacher).

A weakening of professional control began in 1968 when Eastport parents protested the transfer of sixth grade students from Cornwall and Maplewood, to relieve overcrowding in those schools, to the Davis and Ward Schools. That year the budget was defeated, and many observers attributed the opposition to the alienation of the parents at Cornwall and Maplewood. Until that year, the highest level of opposition to the budget was concentrated in the area around the Davis School, where a majority of voters were working class or poor. However, the school board, then dominated by the acquiescent majority, attributed the defeat to property re-evaluations which had increased school taxes. The board president refused to heed the increasingly vocal parents who questioned the quality of educational services offered and the lack of communication between school administrators and parents.

The superintendent responsible for the decision to transfer the sixth graders was hired by the reform-oriented board that came into power in the late 1950s. The fact that new money had gone into all the schools except Cornwall and Maplewood--while these two schools had been allowed to deteriorate and become overutilized--outraged many parents.

This superintendent resigned in 1968 to assume a position in the State education department and was replaced by a man reputed to be community-oriented. Nevertheless, the budget was again defeated in 1969. By this time the school board was dominated by businessmen who, with the new superintendent, embarked on an extensive program to stabilize school costs and regain support for the budget. This effort involved the following:

The Educational Goals Committee (1970-1972). The most visible supporters and dissidents in the 1968 and 1969 budget battles were selected to serve on this committee. They were asked to hold meetings in their homes and to recruit other parents who would do so. Participants in these meetings were school board members, administrators, teachers, parents and neighbors with no children in the schools.

Redesign (1971-1973). A project funded by a grant from the State Education Department to promote change in local school districts, Redesign included workshops for school personnel and parents coordinated by a change agent whose salary was paid by the State. A Redesign committee was set up in each school consisting of the principal, teachers selected by the principal, parents selected by the PTA president and a school board member whose children attended the school. Representatives from each school's committee also served on a district level Redesign Committee.

In addition to the above, school board members participated in numerous meetings with representatives of community organizations and ad hoc parent groups with specific complaints or demands.

Extra-local Events. Professional control of decision making was further weakened by the external innovations discussed in Section I, but the external events had little impact on the parent activists whose participation began with the local controversies in the late 1960s. A majority of those who reponded to a 1973 survey (Steinberg, 1973), said they had given up hopes of influencing policy decisions, which they continued to perceive as dominated by administrators. It should be pointed out, however, that most of these activists were concerned with accountability and management rather than a specific program or issue.

Most participants in the Educational Goals and Redesign meetings felt these were devices to "manipulate" parents. "They're nothing but steam venting sessions to get us to support the budget . . . That's all the school board is interested in," said one parent. Some of the former activists admitted that they were confining their energy to maintaining good relationships at local schools in order to obtain favors for their own children.

The New Activists. The parents who were able to benefit from the new resources and develop influence in decisions affecting their children's schooling were mainly people who moved to the district after 1968 or women who were not active in school affairs during the 1960 controversies.

Given the changes described above, one would expect, by the early 1970s, that the new activists would have been able to develop access to decision making through the school sponsored channels for parent participation or the PTA. But, as Section III indicates, the initiators of all 5 groups ran into the same opposition as their predecessors. Where local building principals and teachers were resistant to parent involvement, or where PTA leaders opposed the activist's objectives, they were subjected to 2 new perjorative labels: "militant" or "special interest groups."

The major difference between the two sets of activists is that the new ones were not stifled by this treatment, were able to assume leadership positions outside of the PTA and recruit other parents to support their cause.

The experiences related by the conflict group initiators suggest that they received considerable indirect support from the external events as well as direct support from the local events. Perhaps the most significant external events were the ideologies underlying decentralization and feminism.

Since the mother, in most American school districts, is the parent given primary responsibility for the child's education, these 2 movements reinforced each other. The older activists were socialized to the notion that school decisions should be made by professionals and that parents were not "qualified" to participate in curriculum decisions. They were trained to accept domination by professionals and men. The idea of organizing to challenge professionals was frightening to them, particularly those who felt that educational decisions should not be politicized. Therefore, they were easily intimidated by the Eastport administrators, all of whom were men. As we have seen, the mothers who did not conform to the professional's rules were punished by the labeling tactics and exclusion from the acquisition of leadership roles.

The leaders of the conflict groups, though not all feminists, were not intimidated by the professionals and were prepared to train the women they recruited to the group so that they could cope with administrators and bureaucratic procedures. However, they coped in different ways. Not surprisingly, the groups led by younger women, who were most influenced by the feminist ideology, chose to deal with administrators without the aid of fathers. The women who initiated the other groups, on the other hand, stated that they encouraged fathers to assume leadership roles in their groups because it was more efficient. They knew that it would be more difficult for the administrators to "put down and divert the men." Among themselves, the women ridiculed the way the administrators treated them but, as the initiator of the Community Committee on Learning Disabilities put it: "We felt our children's needs were more important than our self-fulfillment."

The knowledge that there were people outside the school district who would support their actions, not only reduced the risks in participation, but created psychological benefits. Opposition from local groups and individuals--or the anticipation of opposition--had a positive effect. Where this had defeated the early activists, it served to strengthen the new ones.

These benefits accrued primarily to the leaders and initial activists who had a feeling that they were pioneers. For example, when asked why she was attracted to the Open Classroom Group, one woman said: "I joined shortly after I moved here. I needed a 'cause,' something to occupy my mind and get me involved in the community."

A member of Parents for Progress said that in spite of the hassles the groups went through with administrators, "I can understand why parents aren't too interested in the group anymore. It was very exciting when we first started . . . we felt we had a mission . . . Once the administration responded, we lost that feeling and it will probably be difficult to revive unless our interests are threatened."

More important than these psychological benefits, however, were those related to achieving the goal which, in all cases, would have a direct impact on the child and, in some cases, the parents--particularly the women in the Lunchroom Group where goal attainment would make it easier for them to work, and the Community Committee for Learning Disabilities where provision of services would reduce economic burdens on the family (tuition for private schools and private tutors).

The most important local change was the attitude of the superintendent and school board members and their positive response to organized pressure from new groups. However, this did not reduce the activists' problems. The risks were higher and benefits fewer in the schools run by principals who resisted parent participation. At these schools teachers were afraid to work with the parent activists and it was difficult to recruit parent supporters.

III. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE 5 SUBURBAN PARENT GROUPS

A. THE COMMUNITY COMMITTEE FOR LEARNING DISABILITIES

"You show me a child with problems," said the principal of an inner-city elementary school, "and I'll show you a problem family. Whenever I get to meet the parents of these problem children I can see right away why the child has problems. I don't blame the child, I blame the parent."

If we've heard that statement once, we've heard it a hundred times. The "problem" family is everywhere, according to many principals and teachers we have interviewed in cities and suburbs throughout the country. Eastport is no exception.

Eastport parents who go to school meetings learn very quickly never to admit it if their child has problems. Perhaps the parents in Eastport who suffered the most as a result of this attitude were the mothers whose children had "learning disabilities."

THE PROBLEM. We first learned about learning disabilities in 1966, from a mother whose husband was a prominent psychiatrist. She had a daughter who was diagnosed as "dyslexic" by a neurologist. At that time there was very little published information about the subject and most educators in Eastport knew nothing about it. Through this mother, we met 3 other women whose children had been similarly diagnosed. Their husbands were successful middle-class professionals. They had done some research on the subject and tried to persuade the Cornwall principal and their children's teachers to modify the curriculum to meet their children's needs. At first the teachers were convinced that these children had psychological problems and the mothers sensed that they were perceived as making excessive "demands" on the school system.

These mothers had met at a supermarket near the Cornwall School and called themselves the "Grand Union Group." It was an underground group--they held meetings in their homes or met with school personnel privately. One day we asked why they didn't make the issue public so they could educate the community about the problem--since one reason given for rejecting their requests was that the community would not pay for the services they wanted. They all said they were afraid that the stigma attached to the problem would have a destructive effect on the children.

Then we called the Cornwall PTA president to see if that organization could be persuaded to support the issue. She told us: "Those children are disturbed--the mothers just don't want to admit it. These parents can't expcet the school to do anything about it--it's up to the parents to take care of this on their own."

Finally, the mothers found a sympathetic school board member who went to bat for them and in 1968 the Board of Education agreed to hire 2 part-time learning disability specialists to work with students and teachers. There was such a demand on the specialists' time that the

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position was extended to a full time one in each elementary school the next year, but no services were provided at the secondary level.

According to the mothers, the specialists were to spend most of their time working with teachers so that they would learn how to handle the children in the regular classroom. But the program did not work out that way: the teachers, it was reported, were not receptive to the specialist's advice. To the mothers' dismay, the children were "pulled out" of the class for special tutoring. Still, it was better than nothing, and the mothers felt that, in time, teachers would change. They decided it would be more productive to concentrate on getting services in the high schools so that they would be available by the time their children reached that level.

By 1971, the 4 women had developed a network of parents and supportive teachers who helped plan a workshop at the high school. The workshop was conducted by parent volunteers--both fathers and mothers. Since these activities were conducted in closed meetings, the community knew nothing about them.

Therefore, it was no surprise to find a letter in the local newspaper, in 1971, criticizing the Eastport school system for failing to provide services for high school students with learning disabilities. The letter was written by Susan Carson.*

When the Carsons bought a home in the Gold Coast section of Eastport, in 1966, their son Michael was enrolled in the fifth grade at the Davis School. Before this, Michael had difficulty learning to read and write but no teacher had ever suggested that there was anything seriously wrong with him. At the recommendation of the fifth grade teacher, Mrs. Carson agreed to have Michael tested by the school psychologist who diagnosed him as having psychological problems. This diagnosis was confirmed by a private psychologist who advised the Carsons to send Michael to a private school with special programs.

Mrs. Carson was not convinced that such a drastic step was necessary since Michael seemed perfectly normal outside of school. Her doubts were also based on the way Michael reacted to different teachers. He seemed to do better with teachers who took time to work with him on a one-to-one basis and let him progress at his own rate. The fifth grade teacher, on the other hand, complained to Mrs. Carson that Michael worked too slowly and could not keep up with the "rest of the class." Mrs. Carson was inclined to think that the teacher was part of the problem. However, the principal refused to place Michael in another class and told Mrs. Carson that she was creating problems for the boy and trying to evade the "facts." So they decided to enroll Michael in the private school.

After Michael had been going to the private school for about a year, Mrs. Carson accidentally came across an article on "learning disabilities" which described children who seemed to have learning patterns similar to Michael's. For the next 2 years, she read everything she could get on this subject, had Michael retested by a doctor who knew something about learning disabilities and who confirmed that this was the cause of his school problems. The doctor did not recommend reenrolling Michael in the public school, however, unless the school had special instruction for him; therefore he was transferred to another private school. Although Michael improved academically in the new environment, he was unhappy. He wanted to go to the Eastport high school with his friends from the neighborhood. It occurred to Mrs. Carson that the public schools should have methods for teaching children like Michael. They were fortunate to have the funds for private instruction--what about the parents who couldn't afford it?

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*Pseudonyms are used in all the case studies presented in this report.

A variety of sources, which estimated that 10-15% of the school-age population suffers from some form of learning disability, convinced Mrs. Carson that there was a need to persuade the Eastport school administrators to deal with this group. Since the Grand Union Group was still operating behind-the-scenes, Mrs. Carson knew nothing about these parents' efforts, and proceeded to act on her own. Her first step was to talk to the high school principal and some district administrators who treated her as if her child's problem was unique. She was not active in school affairs and knew only one other family in the district in the same category: her neighbors, the Hyatts.

FORMATION OF THE GROUP. One day it dawned on Mrs. Carson that if the information she had read in the technical literature was accurate, there must be many other parents in the district who were still struggling with the same problem. The question was: how to reach them?

"I figured that other parents either didn't have the information that I had or that they were afraid to make the issue public because of the stigma attached to the problem or fear that it would antagonize the school administration. I decided to write a letter to the local paper to make the community aware."

The letter, which appeared in the fall of 1971, gave background on the problem, the type of services recommended by experts, and the failure of the Eastport administrators to respond to parent concerns. Before writing the letter, Mrs. Carson explained to Michael that what she was doing was to help him and other children like him. He wanted her to do it. Mr. Carson and the Hyatts were also supportive.

About 50 parents--mostly mothers--called Mrs. Carson after the letter appeared. There were dozens of "horror stories" about children who had been misdiagnosed, insensitive treatment of parents by school personnel, thousands of dollars spent on private diagnoses to confirm/disconfirm the school diagnoses. Several cases involved children at the Davis school, including one who had the same fifth grade teacher as Michael--and the same experience. Despite the evidence to the contrary, all the parents had been told that they were the "only ones" with this problem and given the "run around" by central administrators.

THE CORE GROUP AND RESOURCES. Mrs. Carson also received calls from members of the Grand Union Group and other parents who had been active in a 1969 effort to get special programs for children with other handicaps. Two fathers who had worked on the 1969 issues advised the Carsons to follow the same strategy that worked for them: organize a group, insist that both fathers and mothers participate in the group, get advice from experts outside the school district, put pressure on the school board, and threaten the district with a law suit if nothing happened.

On the basis of this advice, Mrs. Carson invited the parents who had phoned her to a meeting at her home. About 30 families were represented at the meeting but around 75 families agreed to participate in the Carson's plans.

The first core included 6 parents: Mr. and Mrs. Carson, Mr. and Mrs. Hyatt, Arthur Johnson, an Eastport administrator and parent, and Sam Robinson, a community influential who had been very active in school affairs (see Table III-1). Almost all of the work (setting up the committee, sending newsletters to parents, meeting with school board members and administrators) was done by the Carsons and the Hyatts. Although the results of the meetings were reported back to the parents who agreed to support their efforts, the peripheral members we interviewed knew very little about the leaders' strategy. Nor were they aware of the other members of the group.

STRATEGY AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS. Before the CCLD was organized, around 1970, school board members and administrators were hearing complaints from individual parents at meetisngs sponsored by the School Board Selection Committee. One former school board president recalled: "It was a sizable group. If memory serves, there must hae been 50 people . . . and they did a good job of letting us know that they represented a constituency. We were asked to get up cold and talk about our views on special education. They left a very distinct impression on us that they were a force to be reckoned with in the community. They were a power base . . . they maintained a presence and contact in a variety of ways and at budget time they made themselves particularly available and would help sell the budget. It was unspoken but obviously the price for that kind of support was taking special education into consideration."

One result of this earlier parent pressure was that the school board asked the administration to develop a plan for improved services for handicapped students. At the same time, the Grand Union Group had been working with administrators to hire outside consultants to evaluate the services for children with learning disabilities. CCLD members decided to support this effort.

About 2 months after the CCLD was established, 2 consultants from districts with "lighthouse programs" for children with learning disabilities were hired to conduct the evaluation. The consultants' report reinforced the parents' complaints that the services in Eastport were uncoordinated and inadequate.

Mr. Carson and Mr. Hyatt used the consultants' report and other information as the basis for discussions with individual school board members. The private meetings between these 2 fathers and board members was very different from the strategy pursued by the other groups in this

TABLE III-1

COMMUNITY COMMITTEE FOR LEARNING DISABILITIES: POSITIONAL BASIS OF INFLUENCE AND PERSONAL RESOURCES

Core Member	Basis of Influence	Personal Resources
First Core		
Susan Carson		Managerial skills, Knowledge of issue
Roger Carson	Successful businessman	Managerial skills, Negotiating skills
Phillip Hyatt	Successful executive	Managerial skills
Dorothy Hyatt		Willing to work
Arthur Johnson	School administrator	Inside knowledge, Political strategy
Sam Robinson	Community influential	Contacts in community, Committee experience

TABLE III-1--Continued

Core Member	Basis of Influence	Personal Resources
Second Core		
Brenda Foster		Parent mobilizer, Husband's contacts
Dan Foster	Local businessman	Political strategy, Community contacts
Mary Jane Houseman	Member of local, state, and county organizations on handicapped	Expert knowledge on issue
Martha Brady		Willing to work, Contacts with parents
Jill Parsons		Willing to work

study. The other groups usually mobilized all the members for meetings with school administrataors and board members. When asked why they had acted on this individual basis, Mr. Carson replied:

> You can't get anything done in a group--most of the parents who come to these group meetings are women who are too emotionally involved with their own children's problems. It's impossible to have a rational discussion. Second, it's harder to deal with board members in a group situation. We figured they [the board members] were all reasonable people, and that if we sat down with them--one at a time--we could convince them that our demands were reasonable. They all agreed that we were right--the problem was getting the money for the program.

The outside consultants recommended that a special division be set up to coordinate the special education programs already operating in the district and the ancillary services that would be provided for children in the learning disability category who attended regular classes. These recommendations were presented at a March 1972 meeting sponsored by the administration. At this meeting the superintendent suggested that the parents should concentrate on the state level to obtain additional funds for special education since the community was resistant to any increases in the school budget.

The superintendent's advice was acted on by Brenda Foster, a parent who had not previously been involved in school affairs or politics. She called her husband's brother who was a politician in a nearby suburb who put her in touch with a state senator. The senator asked Mrs. Foster to send background information on the issue. After reading the material, he called her up and said: "You're on." Then he assigned an aid to work with the CCLD.

Toward the end of 1972, the Carsons and Hyatts withdrew from the CCLD and turned the leadership over to Mrs. Foster and her husband who, by this time, had become very vocal advocates for the cause.

In spring of 1973, the school board agreed to establish a separate division for special education programs, including services for children with learning disabilities. A coordinator was to be hired to implement the program. Mr. Foster spoke up at board meetings and other meetings before the 1973 budget vote to urge support for the new program, which was approved. The new program was implemented in September 1973.

Because of community opposition to further increases in the school budget, the Fosters decided to focus at the state level for additional funds. For the next two years, most of the organizing around special education was coordinated by Mrs. Foster, who worked with a nucleus of 3 mothers of handicapped children (though not in the learning disability category). Through the state senator's office, these parents became affiliated with parent groups in other New York school districts. Their efforts culminated, in 1974, in a state-wide lobby to get the state legislature to mandate special programs and authorize funds for handicapped students.

A 1975 ruling by the State Commissioner of Education, requiring local districts to provide special education services, reflected the efforts of this statewide lobby. State funds were provided for emotionally disturbed and retarded students, but not for those with learning disabilities. The services provided in Eastport, according to the coordinator of the special education program, went beyond the minimal state requirements and a substantial part of the cost came from local funds. A few months later, Congress passed a law requiring local districts to provide programs for handicapped students by 1978.

INTERNAL MANAGEMENT. Before the Carsons and the Hyatts withdrew from the group, the Grand Union Group had coordinated its activities with the CCLD. The Fosters made two critical decisions which led to the withdrawal of the Grand Union Group and other parents who were primarily concerned with services for children with learning disabilities. The CCLD was merged with the other special education parents and most of their energy went into lobbying at the state level.

Three members of the Grand Union Group who were interviewed for this study said their group did not want to work with the Fosters because they preferred local solutions and thought the needs for learning disabled students were very different from those of other handicapped students. The Grand Union Group stressed "mainstreaming" rather than "pull out" tutorial or special programs that would isolate the children from the regular classroom. They also perceived the Foster's alliance with the state senator as politically motivated. (The Fosters and members of the Grand Union Group were allied with different political parties.) As one member of the Grand Union Group put it:

> We objected to publicizing the issue. It was exploiting the children. We were not looking for any credit . . . we were just interested in the children's welfare.

The Foster's strategy was based on the belief that a majority of parents who were willing to work on special education issues were those whose children were in the more severely handicapped categories. Right after they took over leadership of the CCLD, they discovered that few parents were willing to work--many would not even attend meetings because they did not want to be associated with such a visible group. (There were reports that some of the parents became angry when they were called to attend meetings or work on the issue.)

There has been a marked decrease in parent involvement in special education issues, including learning disabilities, since the state and federal mandates were enacted. "When community opposition to the budget threatened these services," Mrs. Foster said, "we usually could get around 200 parents to attend a meeting. Once the program was set up, parents stopped coming." Several parents who were initially active in the CCLD admitted that their participation had declined once their children started to receive services. However, there were several indications (in interviews with these parents and school personnel) that the services are still not sufficient for the number of children in need. Some informants attributed the decline in parent participation to the control of the program coordinator who selects parents to serve on a committee for the handicapped. Everyone agreed that the children whose parents are active are well served and that this has reduced the parents' incentive to participate in obtaining additional program improvements.

The special education program coordinator and 2 school board members mentioned that there was a need for improved services in the district. They also commented on the reduction in parent involvement. The findings suggest that once a new program is adopted by the school system, parent participation declines. If the program is threatened, the previously active parents mobilize around the issue, but this is not sustained once the crisis is resolved.

B. THE OPEN CLASSROOM GROUP

Most of the homes put up for sale in Eastport are listed in The New York Times as well as the local newspaper. The name of the neighborhood elementary school is usually included only for the houses located in the Maplewood School area. For years, Maplewood had the reputation of being the best elementary school in the district and the school with the most "aggressive" parents. It was believed to have experimental programs and the most innovative teaching teachers--and it attracted parents looking for these qualities, at least in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The Problem. According to most informants, Maplewood has had the highest levels of parent participation and parent-school conflict of all the elementary schools in the district. Observation of parent meetings at this school between 1969 and 1973 suggested that conflicts were dominated by two factions: one interested in traditional education programs, the other promoting alternatives. Dissidents complained, regardless of their philosophical or ideological preferences, about uncreative, ineffective, or inappropriate teaching methods (typically described as "rigid"), lack of administrative commitment to new programs, and rejection of parent involvement.

A new principal was assigned to Maplewood in 1969, shortly after the arrival of the new superintendent. Structural changes almost immediately implemented at this school, team teaching and differentiated staffing, were scored by both parent factions who wanted changes in teaching methods rather than classroom structure. Teachers complained to parents about the principal's competence and it was rumored that his inability to control parents and staff accounted for his dismissal in 1971.

FORMATION OF THE GROUP. Two sets of parents interested in alternative programs mobilized around the hiring of the principal's successor. The first set included established leaders whose youngest child had 1 or 2 more years to complete at Maplewood. The second included newcomers who were first motivated to become involved in school affairs by the 1969 budget defeat.

The Open Classroom Group (OCG), which grew out of the latter cohort, was initiated by Martha Katz, Sally Grant, and Janet Lerner. Like most other parents who bought homes in the Maplewood section, the 3 women discovered complaints about the school's programs after they moved to Eastport. These women knew each other before moving to the district--

their husbands had gone to law school together. Since they were all education majors, it is not surprising that school issues dominated their conversations and local activities.

Right after she moved to Eastport, Mrs. Katz joined a League of Women Voters workshop to study the district's elementary school facilities. Several other women, mostly former teachers, who became peripheral members of the OCG, also participated in this workshop. These women were interested in more than facilities, however: they wanted to see what the program was like in the Maplewood School and figured that the LWV study would create access to the classrooms.

Many of the questions raised by the women were inspired by the writings of Charles Silberman, Jonathan Kozol, and John Holt, whose critiques of traditional schooling appeared in the early 1970s. The women did not find much "joy" in Maplewood School. Neither did Ruth Haas, another new resident--an educational consultant in a nearby suburban district who also had a preschool-aged youngster.

Ms. Haas had ties to both sets of parents. She had bought her home from a family in the older age group and had a professional-social relationship with Janet Lerner (formed before they moved to Eastport). A disciple of Lillian Weber, who had helped parents in other districts set up open classrooms, Ms. Haas was committed to this form of education. She advised the parents to form 2 groups, warning that if they made individual efforts to influence school administrators (the method used by the older parents), they would be labeled "neurotic" or "kooky" because, in her view, the administrators did not understand open classroom methods or alternative education concepts. She also warned them that no change would be effective unless it included teacher training.

THE CORE GROUP AND RESOURCES. Both sets of parents met with the superintendent and school board during the summer of 1971 to press for the hiring of a principal who would be sympathetic to implementing alternative programs at Maplewood. The older parents were loosely organized around the demand for a 4-6 grade alternative. By the spring of 1972, the younger women had organized a relatively tightly knit group to promote open classroom methods at the K-3 level, reflecting the influence of Ms. Haas over the younger women. Between that date and spring 1979, there has been a core group promoting this issue--although there has been some change in membership. Members active in the core and peripheral members discuss the history of the group in 3 phases: Before the "Corridor," the Formation of the Corridor, and the Decline.

During the first phase (spring 1972-spring 1973), the women organized the core and recruited about 20 other parents. The recruits were mostly mothers of their children's friends, people met at a nearby nursery school and social events.

At the beginning, core members possessed or developed several of the resources discussed in our inventory: political skills, mobilizers, mediators, a coordinator, monitors, effective speakers, educational experts. Peripheral members included opinion leaders and volunteers. In addition, the goal was endorsed by external authorities, it had a philosophical base, and the group was able to demonstrate that there was potential support from a sizable constituency. On the other hand, there were no "insiders" working directly with the group and core members were unable to enlist the active participation of staff members. In fact, the actions of some members antagonized teachers. As time went on, the group lost the support of the peripheral opinion leaders, the active involvement of the political strategist, and the more effective mediators. Finally, core members did not develop constructive alliances with other teachers and parents throughout the district who were actively involved in promoting alternatives.

Eleven women participated in the core between 1972 and 1979 (see Table III-2). Of the 3 initiators and 4 initial recruits, 4 were educators (one became an administrator, another is still a teacher, and 2 are former teachers). As the preceding section illustrates, 2 of the initial recruits were selected to provide political skills and educational expertise. After the first 2 years, 3 initial core members dropped out. Personal responsibilities prevented Hillman (the political strategist) from being active, although she maintained her commitment to the group's goals and occasionally attended meetings; one moved to another state and the third was lost because of the conflict within the group discussed below.

The 4 late recruits included a teacher, a former teacher, and 2 women active in local politics.

None of these 11 women were perceived by informants outside the group as opinion leaders or influentials at the community level (at the time of our interviews). The low rating of this factor reflects the fact that most core members are currently working, they made few contacts outside the group, and had minimal involvement in the community outside of their personal concerns. One member became a PTA leader. Failure to expand beyond the original circle of intimates or to develop alliances with influential school groups were the major weaknesses acknowledged by several core members.

STRATEGY AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS. To begin with, the women wrote letters to school board members and administrators and presented position papers stating their demands and the rationale underlying them at meetings. In 1972, the school board adopted a policy endorsing alternative programs and allocated $3,000 for a consultant to work with Maplewood teachers and parents. At the same time the new principal entered a leadership training program (at a New York City teaching institution) which was designed to help administrators implement open classroom methods and promote parent involvement.

When it became apparent that the administration had not set a timetable for implementing the Maplewood alternative program, the women decided that stronger measures were needed to ensure that one would be in place when their children entered kindergarten in September 1973. They recruited a political strategist, Sally Hillman, who had been active in political campaigns. That spring, Ms. Hillman conducted workshops to train the parents in negotiating with administrators and board members, while Ms. Haas held workshops on open classroom methods. There were more meetings to persuade the superintendent and principal.

TABLE III-2

OPEN CLASSROOM GROUP: POSITIONAL BASIS OF INFLUENCE AND PERSONAL RESOURCES, CORE MEMBERS

Core Member	Basis of Influence	Personal Resources
Martha Katz	Former teacher, Social leader	Knows a lot of parents, Became PTA President, Educational expertise
Sally Grant		Organizational experience, Knows a lot of parents
Janet Lerner	Teacher	Educational expertise
Ruth Haas	Educational consultant	Parent organizing experience, Educational expertise, Speaks up
Sally Hillman	Political campaign experience	Political strategy, Speaks up
Jenny Feldman		Organizing ability/planning
Carolyn Stern		Commitment to issue, Internal management skills, Speaks up
Mary Grossman	Teacher	Willing to work
Sandra Bloch	Former teacher	Willing to work
Elizabeth Rosen	Local political leader	Willing to work
Judith Sloane	Local political leader	Persuasive personality, Speaks up

"The major problem for these women," said Hillman, "was that they were afraid to risk taking a political position. I knew that the school board's biggest problem was getting the budget passed. I analyzed the budget vote and realized that the Board needed a sizable 'yes' vote from the Maplewood area to offset the traditionally negative vote from the Davis School area. I told the women that they could develop political clout by threatening to vote against the budget, but they would not accept this advice. The group has always been dominated by women who are afraid of conflict. We settled for what seemed to me a rather weak commitment to phase in the open classroom alternative beginning with the 1973 term."

The new alternative, called "the Corridor," instituted in September 1973, was a modified open classroom program. It involved teaching in 3 K-2 classes. Self-contained open classrooms were also instituted in grades 4-6. Although several members of the OCG were critical of these classes--some maintaining that they were, in fact, traditional classrooms with an "open" label--the concensus was to cooperate with the administration and teachers and work for long-range improvements.

Group morale was high during the first year of the "Corridor" when the members were eager to provide moral support for the participating teachers and to help set up a parent volunteer program. About 15 mothers spent a half a day or more each week helping teachers with workshops in creative writing, music, art, and science. Many of these mothers were themselves former teachers or experts in these areas.

Parent moral began to decline after the first year when parents saw indications that teachers did not welcome parent support, and administrators were not providing sufficient support to the program. Parents requested that the teachers be provided with additional training. They also wanted more parent involvement. They felt that the consultant working on the program was allied with the teachers and reinforcing divisions between parents and teachers.

In the spring of 1974, the principal left to take a position in another school district and was replaced by an assistant principal from another Eastport elementary school. Several members of the OCG felt that this move, combined with the failure to hire new teachers trained specifically in open classroom methods, indicated a lack of commitment to their goals on the part of top administrators. Some went so far as to accuse the administration of consciously "sabotaging" the program.

Everyone interviewed agreed that the OCG suffered a major setback with a teacher firing episode in 1974-75 (the second year of the program's operation). The principal permitted the teachers working in the Corridor to have a role in the selection of this new teacher, who proved to be controversial with parents. Some OCG parents thought he was "wonderful," others were "appalled" by his methods which they described as "authoritarian" or the antithesis of the program's philosophy. Two of the critical parents went to the principal--over the objections of the OCG--to complain about this teacher. When the teacher was fired, the other Corridor teachers (according to OCG members we interviewed) blamed the parent group and from then on refused to work with the parents. The principal, however, stated that the teacher's dismissal was his responsibility and not due to parent pressure.

Each year since 1975, the group has continued to call meetings with administrators (the principal and superintendent) to demand more resources for teacher training, hiring of teachers with appropriate training, and maintenance of two open classrooms at each grade level. Administrators and some school board members claim that an open alternative still exists at the Maplewood School, but most remaining members of the OCG regard only two teachers as practicing open classroom methods. Beyond seven core members who attended two meetings in 1979 and about ten peripheral members, there is little interest in the concept and most agree that the group is "dead."

INTERNAL MANAGEMENT. Members of the core group attributed their initial effectiveness to the fact that they were able to develop consensus on goals and strategy. A number of factors tended to divide the group as time went on: primarily the problems related to recruiting and training teachers, evidence of weak commitment to the program on the part of administrators, and the inbred nature of the program.

When the group was first formed, the concept of open classrooms was still new--most parents were enrolling their first child in school and had no basis for predicting potential problems. Therefore, it was fairly easy to unite around an objective that seemed to encompass the type of program each wanted. It became apparent that parents as well as administrators and teachers had different interpretations of the open classroom concept. Furthermore, some children did not do too well in the first classes and others did not get along very well with the other children. Conflicts between students were a major reason for the demand that at least two alternative classes be available on each grade level. Several parents said they withdrew their children from the alternative program because the classes were predominately Jewish.

Core members became divided over philosophy and tactics. One faction, frequently referred to as the "idealists," wanted a pure form of open classroom, consistent with the methods advocated by Lillian Weber. The other faction, the "realists," was willing to settle for a modified alternative. The latter group eventually came to believe that the group should forget about any specific label as such and fight for "quality education," a difficult objective to mobilize around.

Some informants attributed the initial endorsement of the group's objectives to the combined skills of Haas and Hillman, who in spite of the women's reluctance to engage in confrontation, did manage to politicize the women to a certain degree. According to Hillman, a major mistake was the decision to focus on open classrooms as the alternative, thus foreclosing consideration of other possibilities.

Leadership. Only two core members were mentioned as having leadership ability: Hillman and Haas. When Hillman dropped out, decisions were dominated by Haas. Members who disagreed with Haas' insistence on an open classroom alternative were unable to weaken her influence on the "idealists."

According to one former peripheral member, "there isn't any leader . . . there are just vocal women." This critic did not see the group as effective. According to her recollections of the meetings with administrators: "Sally and Ruth were both abrasive and militant. They would tell the administrators they were no good--I think they were barking up the wrong tree."

Structure. For about four years (1973-1977), the group maintained a committee structure with members elected by the group. There was always some overlap between membership in the steering committee and membership in the core. According to some informants, with the exception of one year, Haas has been excluded from the steering committee to weaken her control of the group. She is described, by all core members, as a persistent negative force in most group discussions as well as meetings with school officials. It is also admitted, by some, that members encourage her to assume a dominant role in meetings with school administrators.

Membership and Meeting Attendance. At its peak--when the Corridor was implemented--informants estimate that around sixty families supported the OCG. As time went on the number was reduced to about twenty. That number is probably accurate since the list we compiled (by asking members to look over an original list and then to add anyone left out) came to sixty.

When the group started, meetings were fairly frequent--sometimes once a week. Those active at the beginning said that the meetings were exciting events. Part of the excitement was due to the feeling that they were participating, as one woman expressed it, in a "cause."

"Being in the group made me feel that I was part of the community: it gave me a cause . . . I liked the other women," said one. Another admitted that the group provided an acceptable social outlet when her children were young.

After the program was under way, the group met around once a month, unless there was a "crisis" to discuss. In the past two years the group has met only a couple of times a year.

Some recent recruits indicated that their incentives were both political and social. As one woman put it: "I knew Ruth Haas from camp. She told me about the group and I joined as a way to make friends." The present chairman of the steering committee said that she joined the group as a means to develop "clout" with the school administrators. "If you go in about a problem and the teacher knows you're part of this group, it's much easier to get them to do what you want," she said.

Some peripheral members and dropouts describe the group as falling apart after Hillman left. Others complained about the personal rivalries between Haas and whoever was the appointed chairman of the steering committee. Still others said they disapproved of the "aggressive" and confrontational style of the meetings between the group and school administrators.

The group itself was perceived as a major problem by some peripheral members. There were references to the domination of the group by some core members, and objections to the women's tendency to "bicker" or waste time on "social chit-chat." These behaviors made it difficult to recruit new members and retain members--particularly parent leaders and influentials who were described as "turned off" by the group. Beyond the first two years, little effort was made to enlist support from the PTA or to train new members, suggesting that the group has not recruited effective mediators.

Most respondents attributed a decline in involvement to several factors: that children had grown older (graduating to higher levels of the school system), some women had gone to school, back to work, or had developed other community interests. Other reasons were frustration and anger.

C. PARENTS FOR PROGRESS

Black students in the Eastport district have usually comprised 5 percent of the total enrollment. These students have always been concentrated in the Davis School, the most underutilized elementary school in the district. In the early 1960s, there were a few black students in the Ward School, only one black family whose children attended the Cornwall School, and no black students at Maplewood. Ward and Davis were the only schools with large numbers of poor families, the most inadequate facilities, and the lowest rates of parent involvement. Black students comprised about 20% of the Davis enrollment.

The interests of black students were represented, during the early 1960s, by an informal coalition which included a few parents (white and black) who were active at the Davis School, top school administrators whose children attended Davis, and some prominent "liberals" who lived in Old Haven. When the first CAP and Title I funded programs were implemented in Eastport (in the Village, since this was the only section of the district with sufficient low income residents to be eligible for these funds), members of this coalition were very active in the programs.

In the mid-1960s, improvements were made at both Ward and Davis. The former was completely rehabilitated and Ward was replaced by a new building. Around the same period, efforts to integrate the four elementary schools were made by a handful of Davis School parents and a few liberal whites whose children attended the Cornwall and Maplewood schools. But most people involved in school-community affairs believed that the integration-minded parents represented only a small segment of the community and that a majority of residents would be opposed to any plan that would alter existing enrollment patterns.

Reactions to a proposal to institute a Princeton Plan, developed (in 1967) primarily to eliminate overcrowding in Cornwall and Maplewood schools which would also have integrated the students, clearly indicated that several factions in the district were prepared to mobilize opposition. The chairman and several prominent members of the citizens committee responsible for the proposal received threatening phone calls and verbal abuse at public hearings. The strength of this opposition led most members of that committee to end their participation in school affairs. It was also the end of visible efforts to integrate the schools for every citizen who cared about this issue.

Shortly after this episode, the Village CAP was taken over by a "Black Power" advocate who did not want white participation in that group. Then, a change in federal guidelines (requiring that a majority of Title I Advisory Committee members be parents with children in the program) served to eliminate white participation in that group.

Our interviews with parents active in Title I PACs indicate that the parent chairman was selected by a school administrator. Since the parents trusted the administrator, and felt that the Davis principal and faculty were on their side, they did not object to the procedures.

Up to 1971, the Title I funds had been used for programs at the Davis School, mainly small classes in the early grades and remedial services. Some funds were provided for a tutoring program, implemented by the CAP, for high school students. By 1970, some parents began to question the concentration of Title I funds at the Davis School as well as the effectiveness of the curriculum. Concerns focused on the difficulties that black students were experiencing when they were transferred to the middle school and their high school dropout rate. Two teachers who attended the meeting where these issues were raised volunteered to start an alternative high school which was largely funded out of Title I monies. According to one of the teachers:

> The black parents in this district have a lot of potential power. They could get anything they want from this system . . . the administrators are very sympathetic to their children's needs.

The major problem identified by this teacher was that the parents were not well organized.

THE PROBLEM. Parents for Progress (PFP), the first independent organization for black parents, was organized in 1972 by Loren Baker, a district teacher and parent who stated that:

> As a teacher in the school system, I saw the need to have black parents involved in school issues, and the school aware of needs of the black child. There was also the need to make the schools aware of the fact that black parents want good educational facilities and instruction for their children and that black parents are interested in education.

Unlike the other "Eastport" parent groups included in this study, which focused on one program or one school, PFP addressed a variety of system problems directly affecting black students. The issues most frequently cited in the interviews were:

1. Inadequacies in the elementary school program; usually discussed in terms of low teacher expectations, inadequate instruction in basic skills, "coddling," and the lack of opportunities for students to interact with high achieving middle class white students. Some members of PFP believed these were the major factors accounting for lower academic achievement levels and poor social adjustment among a large segment of the black students at the secondary level.

2. Insensitive counselors and teachers at the middle school (7th and 8th grades). At this level, parents felt teachers perceived students in terms of racial stereotypes. They were, for the most part, placed in "slow" classes, discouraged from taking electives (such as foreign languages and algebra), which would fulfill college admission requirements, and were unaware of the social and psychological problems faced by these students at this level. One respondent described the experience as creating "culture shock."

3. Problems at the high school level:

   a) teachers and administrators frequently ignored students who were chronic truants and class cutters.

   b) students were permitted to "roam" the halls which were not supervised during free periods.

   c) poor communication with parents who were often given no information about absenteeism and class cutting until the situation reached crisis proportions.

   d) Low rate of college attendance. Students were not adequately counseled about college requirements and admission procedures.

   e) Inadequate remedial services.

4. Absence of black studies in the curriculum.

5. No system-wide observance of Martin Luther King's birthday.

6. The system had not enacted an affirmative action policy nor developed effective efforts to recruit competent black personnel.

Since the members of PFP did not agree on priorities, it was decided to seek reforms that would remedy all these problems. In part the decision was based on the need to hold the interest of a diverse membership.

There was a response to all of these concerns, as indicated in Table III-3.

FORMATION OF THE GROUP. Loren Baker, who taught in the middle schools (grades 7-8), had first hand knowledge of what happened to the students when they were transferred to this level. Through conferences with parents whose children had attended the Ward School, she learned

TABLE III-3

PROBLEMS RAISED BY GROUP AND SCHOOL SYSTEM RESPONSE

Problem	Response
1. Elementary level:	
a. Low teacher expectations	Hiring of principal for Davis School who had experience in "inner city" schools.
b. No interaction with students from other elementary schools	"Interact Program"--students from all 4 elementary schools participate in an exchange program before enrollment in middle school.
2. Middle school: teacher stereotypes and insensitivity	Administration sponsored workshops to sensitize teacher and counselors to students needs. First workshop was run during school hours; subsequent ones are after school--participation is voluntary.
3. High school:	
a. Chronic truancy and class cutting.	Improved attendance procedures.
b. Permissiveness	Students assigned to study hall during free periods.
c. Poor home-school communication	Assistant principal set up on-going program for students, parents, teachers, and couselors.
d. Low college attendance	College placement office made special effort to assist students/parents with admission requirements and financial aid.
e. Inadequate remedial services	

TABLE III-3--Continued

Problem	Response
4. System level issues:	
a. Absence of black studies in the curriculum/no observance of Martin Luther King's birthday	Endorsement of one-week program related to black studies. Endorsement of in-school observance of Martin Luther King's birthday.
b. Affirmative hiring practices	School board adoption of an affirmative hiring policy.
c. Evening PTA meetings	With the exception of the high school, all schools now hold some PTA meetings in the evening.

about their earlier schooling. She convinced three other women (Marilyn Stevens, Carol Manar, and Francis Sterling) of the need for a parent group. A planning meeting was held at the Baker home in 1972.

The first two women were, with Mrs. Baker, among the first black professionals to buy homes in Old Haven and their children attended schools in that part of the district. Mrs. Sterling lived in the Village.

Two reasons were given for limiting the group to black parents:

- School personnel maintained that black parents were not "interested" in education. A primary objective was to correct this stereotype.

- founders maintained that most black parents were inadequately prepared to cope with the school system--particularly those who had been raised in the South or who had not completed high school.

It was stressed, in several interviews, that the organization was formed to work on the problems that affected black students as a group. Core members believed that they had been able to deal with problems related to their own children's programs. However, they saw themselves, as individuals, powerless to do anything about system problems. They also expressed concern for the plight of parents who were "less sophisticated." In addition to recommendations for system and local school level changes, PFP sponsored workshops to provide parents with skills so that they could cope with the system and guide their children more effectively.

THE CORE AND RESOURCES. Eight parents were identified as core members of PFP. Three were the founders who lived in Old Haven. When the group began, they were potential "opinion leaders," likely to influence parents because of their professional status and social connections. Since two were teachers, their views about the school program would be respected by other parents. In addition to her inside knowledge of the Eastport system, Mrs. Baker had access to a lot of black parents. She met Mrs. Sterling, for example, when Mrs. Steling's daughter was in her class. Mrs. Sterling was an opinion leader in the black community when the group began. She recruited two other opinion leaders from the community: Kate Willard and Diane Taylor.

These three women were the primary mobilizers--particularly Mrs. Sterling and Mrs. Willard--whose families had lived in the Village for several generations. They knew "everyone" and were themselves highly regarded in that area. For years they had been active in the schools, community organizations, religious and social circles. They knew all of the school personnel who were sympathetic to blacks and parents who could be counted on to support PFP priorities. This knowledge was gained through their own involvement in the schools as parents, Mrs. Sterling's former employment as a school aide, and Mrs. Willard's brother, who had also worked in the system.

The two remaining core members, Robert and Susan Perry, developed influence through their participation in PFP. Mr. Perry was chairman of the organization for two years before being elected to a three-year term on the Eastport school board in 1975.

In addition to potential and actual influence, PFP ranked very high in terms of the resources brought to the group by the core members, which are summarized in Table III-4. These resources included information sources inside the system, access to educational influentials in the community, and a variety of personal skills that could be applied to the internal management of the group and strategy development. Similar to most active members of other groups in this study, core members tend to be dynamic, energetic, and articulate individuals.

The issues promoted by PFP were primarily related to equal educational opportunity, had been legitimated by civil rights legislation, guidelines for districts receiving federal funds and most likely to be supported locally by a cohesive liberal faction of educational influentials. A significant resource, therefore, is the capacity of some of the issues promoted by PFP to evoke strong commitment among members of the group and the potential to mobilize moral support within the liberal community.

STRATEGY AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH SCHOOL OFFICIALS. When PFP was first organized, it was the intent of the group to work toward a cooperative relationship with the school administration. Members anticipated that a rational presentation of "reasonable" demands would be followed by action. This expectation was reinforced by the fact that the officials appeared sympathetic and indicated they would give serious consideration to PFP's recommendations. After two years of this type of meeting, and no action, PFP members decided that a more aggressive approach was required. There followed a few "stormy" meetings, around 1974, which resulted in some immediate change and the gradual resumption of a cooperative relationship.

Events around reforms at the high school illustrate these changes. At this level, the primary actor representing the school system was the principal, whose initial response was to present PFP with "irrelevant statistics" designed, in the words of one member, "to overwhelm us and discredit our position. But we would not let him get away with it. We politely called him a liar." When the parents persisted, continuing to call meetings with the principal and school board members, the principal finally assigned an administrator to work with students and parents. He also encouraged a volunteer, who worked in the college placement office, to assist the students with college admission requirements and application procedures. PFP also provided parent volunteers to work on these activities. Student absences and class cuts were reported to parents on a daily basis.

Negotiations around several issues appear to have involved the following tactics:

A. Parent monitoring of the school programs to document problems.

B. Preparing an agenda for meetings with school personnel, script writing and role playing. The executive committee prepared written statements and selected parents to speak at meetings. Role playing exercises gave parents confidence to speak up at these meetings.

TABLE III-4

PARENTS FOR PROGRESS: POSITIONAL BASIS OF INFLUENCE AND PERSONAL RESOURCES

Core Member	Basis of Influence	Personal Resources
Loren Baker	Teacher in school system	Knows many parents, Expert knowledge: Education
Marilyn Stevens	Teacher	Expert knowledge: Education, Social ties to liberal influentials, Political stragegist, Volunteer
Carol Manar	Professional administrator, Husband knows community influentials	Organizational skills, Ties to community influentials
Francis Sterling	Established opinion leader in black community, Held appointed positions on school committees, Former school aide	Knowledge of school system and community, Social ties to influentials, Mediating skills

TABLE III-4--Continued

Core Member	Basis of Influence	Personal Resources
Kate Willard	Established opinion leader in black community	Contacts in community, Speaks up at meetings
Diane Taylor	Parent activist and PTA worker	Contacts in community, Committee experience
Robert Perry	Eastport School Board member	Access to authorities and influentials, Leadership skills
Susan Perry	Teacher, Wife of school board member	Expert knowledge: Education

C. A special effort to involve fathers in the meetings. The men were "primed" so that they could debate the issues with administrators.

D. Identification of key administrators and other personnel to be invited to the meetings with top administrators and parents. Those selected were responsible for implementing the program under discussion.

E. Mobilizing parents to attend the meetings.

F. Continued monitoring of the program by members of PFP.

G. Public statements at school board meetings when the group's concerns were ignored by school administrators.

PFP's ability to force the administration and board to respond appears related to three factors: effective mobilization, influential sympathizers, and the nature of the concerns.

A. Effective mobilization of parent support. When PFP's initial requests for reforms were ignored, there was sufficient evidence to convince other parents of the need for group action. At least thirty parents could be counted on to show up for meetings with the top officials and, at one school, the group claims to have mobilized all the parents whose children were affected by the issues.

"The school board was shocked to see how many parents we could get out for our meetings," said one core member, and this perception was corroborated by board members who were at these meetings.

B. Influential sympathizers within the school system and the community. There were several school administrators and school board members who sympathised with the group's concerns. Although these individuals had identified with the interests of black students in the past, they did not, according to one PFP member, "speak up" publicly. However, once PFP organized around these issues, they could count on these people for support. Similarly, school administrators were aware of the sympathetic school personnel who could be counted on to implement the changes effectively, and these persons were the ones selected for the programs.

C. The nature of the focal concerns. The services requested for black students were not "unrealistic." "We were not asking for any new services . . . everything we wanted for our children was there. The problem was that our children weren't getting them." At the high school, the issues raised by PFP were "universal" and there was a parallel group of white parents making similar complaints and demands (PIC). Those issues which were made public appear to have been carefully chosen. They had a strong appeal to the liberal segment of the community. (Demands for specific services were not made public.)

An example which illustrates these factors involves the observance of Martin Luther King's birthday. A PFP member who described herself as "furious" over the school system's failure to observe this event, wrote a letter about the matter to the local newspaper in 1975. The board's initial rejection of this demand was based on the separation of church and state policy. When parent pressure persisted, the board finally agreed to endorse an in-school celebration which involved the cooperation of staff and community organizations--primarily religious groups and influentials who identified with liberal groups. During this period, Robert Perry served on the Eastport school board.

In 1978, PFP realized that this sponsorship was taking up almost all of the time and energy of its most active members and decided that it was time for the school district to take over. The group's strategy was designed to force the schools to take over or to be subjected to embarrassment. At a meeting attended by the superintendent and the school board president, PFP announced that the organization would no longer sponsor the event. The superintendent was described as "very upset" at the announcement.

"By this time," one PFP member reported, "we were a feather in his cap--he had an organized black group to work with." The group felt also that there would be public support for this position. These predictions proved accurate. The superintendent assigned an assistant principal to coordinate the event on a systemwide basis, and for the first time, the King celebration was run by the school system in 1979.

INTERNAL MANAGEMENT. Leadership. PFP has been in existence for about seven years. During the first four years, there were eight parents in the group's core. Only three of the original core members are currently active (two are co-chairman) and those who have dropped out have not been replaced. Robert Perry, chairman between 1973 and 1974 before being elected to the school board, is described by everyone as the most effective leader. But, since leaving the school board, he and his wife have become less active in PFP.

The inactive members say they still consider themselves members but only get involved if there is an issue. All of the core members who were founders said they were willing to do most of the work at the beginning because they were more sophisticated than the other members. Now they believe it is important for others to take over the leadership. However, there is little evidence of recruiting and training potential leaders.

Recruitment. At one point the group included about thirty-five families. Now, most estimate that there are only ten-fifteen members.

New members were initially recruited through distributing "flyers" in the Ward School area, a door-to-door campaign, church groups, and word of mouth. These activities have not been maintained and current recruitment is by word of mouth.

Meeting attendance. Meetings are held once a month at the CAP center in the Village of Eastport. When the group was first formed, attendance was high. Now it is "difficult to get people out." According to one member, the "big shots" only come if "we're having a meeting with the school people." An annual picnic (held in August) is described as the biggest attraction but it was not held this year.

Parent training. Besides role playing to give parents confidence in meetings with school administrators, the group conducts workshops to provide information on testing procedures, the questions parents should ask at parent-teacher conferences, how to help children with their school assignments, and how to cope with individual problems.

The Buddy System. Knowledgeable members in the group will accompany parents to meetings with teachers and administrators when requested. In addition, the members who are teachers have provided tutoring services without charge.

Factions within the group. On the basis of comments made by both core and peripheral members, the major source of internal division is between the professionals from Old Haven and working class members. The former perceive their initial leadership as resented by the Village members and for this reason "moved over to give the others a chance." Some Village members questioned the motivation of the professionals and the group's sole focus on the black student.

"It seems to me, " said one woman who no longer considers herself a member of PFP, "that the mothers in this group are doing the same things we criticize white middle class mothers for doing--we tell our kids to keep away from students who are not going anywhere." She cited instances of activities organized for black students where some PFP members from Old Haven wanted to exclude children from the working class Village homes. "Only one member of the Old Haven group will permit her children to associate with working class children," she contends.

Another woman doubted that the participation of the Old Haven parents was as altruistic as they claimed. To prove her point she noted that most of these parents had become less active when their children graduated.

Two Villagers questioned the need for a segregated organization and one observed that her participation in the group was based on the belief that it would eventually become integrated. She found that having "separate meetings did something to the children." Three members expressed concern about the group's focus on black students when they and their children had close friends who were white.

"PFP parents are new parents--they need to look at the total school, not just minority," said one mother. "I see other groups in this community that have even more problems than blacks" (she gave as examples poor Italians and children from Spanish-speaking homes). Another mother stated: "I don't want to be identified with a separatist group."

These views were repeated in interviews conducted with Blacks residing in Eastport who had not joined PFP.

Current Level of Involvement. Five of the core members who are no longer active in PFP admitted that their participation was curtailed when their children graduated or that they were now preoccupied with other activities--primarily work and advanced studies.

Some respondents--core and periphery--attributed their lower level of involvement to dissatisfaction with the group itself. Besides the comments included in the above section, problems were raised in relation to leadership and the quality of meetings.

"The group was best at the beginning when Bob Perry was chairman. When he left, Marilyn and Carol became very active and pulled the group together, but they don't have Bob's ability to get people to work. Maybe it's because so many of us are women. Maybe women tend to compete more with each other . . . or we resent being asked to do things by other women." This respondent thought the group might be revived if they could recruit another male leader.

One woman complained about the difficulty in getting people to come to meetings. "I got tired calling people to come." Another said she stopped going to meetings because she was "tired of all the babbling."

On the positive side, two respondents suggested that the decline in participation may be due to the group's success. "Maybe parents are able to manage by themselves and no longer need the group." According to a former core member: "The group no longer has an issue."

EFFECTIVENESS. All of core members rated the group as very effective since the administration had adopted almost all of the reforms requested. As one member expressed it:

"We have been surprised. We never expected so much response. A lot of the things we pushed for were disguised to the community. It's just as well. If many people thought we had pushed for them they might resent it."

Most members praised the schools' handling of the Martin Luther King celebration, "Interact," the sensitivity workshops and the changes at the high school. They said that there was a remarkable increase in the number of Black students who went on to college, improved counseling and attendance procedures. They believe that all of these changes have had a positive impact on student morale. Finally, they believe that their parents training provided parents with skills to cope with individual problems.

However, one core member claims that the administration was not as negative toward the issues in the first place. As she put it "They think they've told the school what to do. But the school would have done it anyway if enough people wanted it."

The two peripheral members who were interviewed did not perceive the group positively. They were critical of the focus on minority students, specific issues promoted by the group, inadequate follow through and leadership style. One described some of the concerns raised at the middle school as "stupid" and questioned the emphasis on black "identity." Many parents, she claims resent the group's intervention in their children's problems. (She reported that some had told PFP members to mind their own business.")

The comment about inadequate "follow through" was a response to a question about the group's monitoring activities. According to this respondent, monitoring is not done on a systematic basis and there are few parents with the time to pursue this activity. The other peripheral member predicted that none of the changes will last because of the decline in the organization itself.

Criticism of the leadership style referred to the willingness of the group to "work with the administration" which was perceived by this respondent as a recognition of the "way the indigeneous people feel." ("Indigeneous" is the term some Old Haven members use when discussing members who live in the village.) In this respondent's opinion, the group is anxious to avoid conflict and has settled for "symbolic" changes.

Is there a need to maintain the group? Although the administration has responded to the concerns raised by the organization and some members have observed that there is no "burning" issue to involve members, some of those interviewed perceive a need to maintain the organization. The need relates to three issues: a high rate of administrative and teacher turnover, the current school board and spontaneous events that threaten the group's interests.

Between the time PFP was organized and the present, there has been principal turnover in five of the six district schools. "We have," said a PFP member, "a whole new set of people who don't know about these issues." To inform new personnel, PFP calls meetings to ensure that they "recognize that there is an organization with this commitment."

As for the present (1979) school board, three members are PTA leaders--the organization perceived by PFP as exclusionary and not interested in minority concerns. A majority of the board members was described by one respondent as "elitist" and "conservative."

The third reason for maintaining PFP relates to the need for a group to represent black students on an on-going basis. One example of this need occurred about two years ago. The high school principal failed to intervene when students (black and white) complained about a racist joke made by a teacher. PFP members raised the issue at a public board meeting when the principal also ignored their request for disciplinary action against the teacher.

An article in the local newspaper misinterpreted the PFP position, giving teachers the impression that the PFP was a "vigilante" parent group out to censor them. A teacher called a member of PFP to explain the group's position at a meeting of the teachers' union where the issue was raised in an explosive manner. This meeting between the teachers and the PFP representative, cleared the air and laid the groundwork for a constructive relationship between the two groups.

D. THE LUNCHROOM GROUP

Few people believe that middle class white suburban parents had to organize outside the PTA, as recently as 1973, to win the right to have their children eat lunch in school--especially when they learn that this issue did not involve the school's providing lunch but simply to allow the children to bring their own lunch from home. This struggle, which took place at the Cornwall School, contained elements that were similar to the Open Classrom issue: the action was initiated by a small group of new parents who were supported by more experienced parents, and paralleled the appointment of a new principal. Although the objective was resisted by the principal, some teachers and PTA leaders, it was easier to resolve since it did not affect what went on in the classroom.

THE PROBLEM. The lunchroom problem was not a new one. For several years Cornwall parents had been upset about the school's lunchroom which could accommodate comfortably only about 75 students.

To create three classrooms to accommodate Cornwall's expanding enrollments between 1964 and 1967, the schools' lunchroom was reduced by about 1/3 of its original size. These decisions, made by the superintendent (who resigned in fall, 1968) over the objections of a districtwide advisory committee, and a few parents who were concerned about safety as well as education factors. The decision was based on the assumption that few Cornwall mothers worked. It was only after the lunchroom was remodeled that parents became aware of what was going on.

In 1968 this remodeled lunchroom was too small to accommodate all of the children who had to eat lunch in school. Parents were advised, by the principal, that only children whose mothers worked or who lived a mile or more from the school could stay for lunch. (Children brought their own sandwiches--milk and ice cream were sold in the lunchroom.) Other children could stay, in an emergency, providing they had a note from home and a reason acceptable to the principal.

An average of 125 students ate at school every day. More students met the eligibility requirements, but because of their children's protests about the unpleasant conditions, mothers who could afford it hired baby sitters or housekeepers so that their children could go home. Some permitted older children to buy their lunch at nearby luncheonettes.

An independent parent group, organized by a Cornwall parent and including parents with children in all of the district's 4 elementary schools, made a tour (in 1968) of the 4 schools to assess building needs. The parents who did not have children in Cornwall were shocked at the lunchroom conditions--especially when compared to the programs in the other schools. They were critical of the fact that the principal had no information on the number of working mothers and seemed insensitive to the possible need for such information.

The conditions included: supervision of untrained aides who blew whistles and screamed at the children in useless efforts to maintain discipline; insufficient space to accommodate the children comfortably, no activities for bad weather, and no equipment (other than a small jungle gym and 4 swings) for outdoor use in good weather. The gym teacher would not permit the lunchroom children to use school equipment (such as volleyballs). Nor could they use the gymnasium, the library or other unoccupied rooms.

On the basis of the ad hoc group's criticism, one parent persuaded the principal to institute an experimental lunch program in 1970-71. Since no funds were available from the school budget, the PTA agreed to buy some games and playground equipment and mothers were allowed to serve as volunteers to assist the aides. However, neither the principal or other staff wanted the mothers to work in the program and they were eliminated after one year. To relieve overcrowing, additional tables were set up outside basement classrooms.

After the mothers were rejected, the parents decided there was no point in trying to effect further changes because of principal, staff and other parent opposition. The principal, who had run the Cornwall School for around 20 years, retired in June, 1973. His successor, Mr. Kaplan, had been working in the district for 2 years as a "change agent." That role was part of the state-funded Redesign project and he was known to many parents.

Shortly after Mr. Kaplan took over, I heard that there was a group of "militant" mothers who were "up in arms" over the Cornwall lunch program. Through several interviews I learned that:

- the mothers had a representative who had toured the elementary schools to study lunch programs with a PTA group

- the group agreed that there was a need for a lunch program at both the Old Haven elementary schools (the schools in the more affluent section of the disctrict) but that "this was not the time" for it.

FORMATION OF THE GROUP. The leader of the new group was Barbara Howard, a feminist. She, her husband and three daughters had recently moved (1972) to the Cornwall School area from Washington where they had been active in a community control experiment. Her first allies were neighbors. After the PTA rejected her demands for an improved lunch program, she decided that she would not take "No" for an answer--no matter how much work would be involved. Her initial strategy was similar to that of the earlier mothers': organize a volunteer program.

From September through the end of October, the activities related to the controversy were dominated by Ms. Howard and two neighbors. Nothing was done, however, until the end of October. During that month, there had been an increase in disruptive incidents in the lunchroom and on the playground. The intensity of the problem forced the new principal to deal with the situation. At the end of the month a letter was sent to Cornwall parents requesting them to cooperate with the lunch time procedures. It pointed out that "children can and have been injured" and asked parents to send a letter which "stipulates reasons for children eating in school." The letter was signed by the principal, a lunchroom aide and Ms. Howard, who was listed as "Chairman" of the Lunchroom Committee.

CORE AND RESOURCES. The activities around this issue involved 10 activists, only four (the core) of whom worked consistently and 6 who participated in some of the key events. An estimated 100 parents supported the "group." All 10 of the major participants were recruited on the basis of weak ties. The ties between core members stemmed from neighborhood related interactions. Four of the ties to the other activists were made by Barbara Howard through school and community meetings. A fifth was recruited by another core member and a sixth was appointed by the Cornwall PTA president to work with the "group."

As Table III-5 indicates, these 10 women possessed considerable resources: organizational skills, strategists, experienced activists, opinion leaders and parent mobilizers. Barbara Howard, who everyone designated as the "leader" coordinated the activities.

STRATEGY AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH ADMINISTRATORS. Because of early indications that the activists disagreed over strategy, Ms. Howard decided not to establish a formal committee. She said it would take "too long" to get anything done. The younger women wanted to ask parents to contribute funds for the lunch program and volunteer to assist the aides. The more experience activists disagreed because of the failure of similar strategies in the past.

Interviews with knowledgeable parents suggested that Ms. Howard and her neighbors were perceived as "out and out libbers" and some observers believed they were provoking opposition from the PTA president as well as school staff. Early in the controversy, I interviewed Mr. Kaplan to see if he knew about the previous conflicts around the lunchroom issue (he did not) and to see what he thought about the Howard group.

"There is," Mr. Kaplan stated, "an unspoken issue behind the lunchroom controversy." He believed that the parents resented the teachers for not staying with the children during the lunch period. A solution, he believed, required a change in district policy. Since he did not see himself as capable of effecting such a policy, "parents have to push for it." He offered the following views on the issue:

- The problem will grow because of the increase in working mothers and the women's liberation movement.

- It was a volatile issue. Barbara H. had told him she intended to employ confrontation tactics to improve the program. He disagrees with this approach since it was already creating tensions among the staff and this could lead to conflict between parents and teachers.

- A parent volunteer program is not a viable solution but Barbara H. and her group will have to go through the "process" to find this out for themselves.

- The most demanding mothers are former teachers who said they stayed for lunch when they taught.

At a Redesign meeting at Cornwall in early November a parent from Barbara H's group proposed that a solution to the lunch problem be worked out by the Cornwall Redesign committee which included Mr. Kaplan, teacher representatives, the PTA president and a few parents

TABLE III-5

LUNCHROOM GROUP: POSITIONAL BASIS OF INFLUENCE AND PERSONAL RESOURCES

Member	Basis of Influence	Personal Resources
Barbara Howard (core member)	Civil rights activist in previous community, A feminist, Active in school and community groups	Organizational skills, School volunteer
Marian Singer (core member)	Professional social worker	Willing to work, Contributed money for lunchroom program
Maureen Flaherty	Born and raised in community, Husband a respected university professor	Speaks up at meetings, Contacts in community, Contacts with influentials
Fran Dunne	PTA leader, Husband is political influential, Affiliated with several organizations	Knowledge of school system, Strategist, Contacts in community

hand-picked by her. The proposal was rejected when the PTA president reported that the PTA was handling the issue. Fran Dunne remarked that this was "ridiculous--the PTA hasn't solved a problem yet." In an interview Mrs. Dunne stated that the PTA president opposed the lunchroom group because a solution would require taking the aides out of the classroom.

Shortly after this episode, Maureen Flaherty invited Mrs. Dunne to a meeting of Howard's group to develop a plan of action. Mrs Dunne was a former Cornwall PTA president, she had six children enrolled in different levels of the district's schools and was a veteran of numerous battles between mothers and administrators. Her husband was a lawyer and mayor of Old Haven. The plan proposed by Mrs. Dunne involved the following elements:

- Require that the principal be put in charge of the program
- Ask the physical education teacher to assist in training the aides
- Make additional space available, or let the children eat in shifts.

Mrs. Dunne was impressed by the younger women's determination. She thought they seemed "willing to fight." But she saw Mr. Kaplan using tactics similar to those employed by his predecessor and other Eastport principals:

> "They want parents to do their job--they use the PTA to explain their problems to parents instead of working with parents to solve the problem."

For the above reason, Mrs. Dunne cautioned the women that they would probably not get support from Mr. Kaplan because the issue had the potential of polarizing the staff and parents.

Mrs. Dunne's predictions were borne out. Ms. Howard wrote a letter to Mr. Kaplan outlining the proposed plan and asking for a discussion. The meeting was attended by Howard, Dunne, Flaherty, and Herberg. The women reported that Mr. Kaplan said the letter was "hostile."

Martha Herberg had been appointed by the Cornwall PTA president to work with Barbara Howard on the issue. She was selected because of her reputation as a mediator. After the meeting, Herberg withdrew from the assignment, stating (in an interview), that she did not approve of the way Howard and Flaherty talked to Mr. Kaplan and agreed with him that the approach was "hostile." On Mr. Kaplan's suggestion that "the whole thing should go to Redesign," the issue was referred to a school board member who had children at Cornwall and who was also on the school's Redesign committee. She felt the problem was not appropriate for Redesign because that committee is concerned with "future" rather than immediate problems.

Core members said they were getting discouraged. Ms. Howard attended a meeting at the home of the co-president of the PTA where mothers were talking about how pleasant Cornwall was for "everyone." Howard told them that what was happening to her and the other mothers involved in the lunch room issue was "unbelievable. . . the school is full of cliques--the PTA is a clique. . . .Most parents feel they are not part of it," she told the mothers at the meeting.

While these events were taking place Howard had been developing ties to several Cornwall teachers through some volunteer work on an art fair. Early in December, one of the teachers, who was on the Redesign committee, urged her to take the lunchroom problem to a Redesign meeting. The teacher told her that several other faculty were concerned because they felt that the PTA was not interested in the problem. The next day, when Howard was helping teachers with the fair, she told them that parents needed the teachers advice about the lunch program. The teachers said they felt the issue was important but had no specific recommendations.

There is some evidence from this group's experience that teachers may tend to become supportive of parents when they are involved in conflict with the school administration. At this time the teachers were annoyed by a contract with the janitors which transferred some employees in this category to the night shift. The teachers had filed a grievance because they wanted more janitors in the building during the day when the children were in school.

Before Howard could take the issue to Redeisgn (for the third appeal), Mr. Kaplan agreed to hire aides for the lunch program and permit the mothers to volunteer to help. He promised that training would be provided for both the aides and the mothers. That agreement, made on December 20--just before the Christmas holidays, uplifted the spirits of all the women in Howard's group.

By the end of January despair had set in. Howard, Flaherty, and some peripheral members who were involved in the new lunch plan, revealed that a bitter struggle had erupted between the parent volunteers, the aides, the principal, the assistant principal and some teachers. The conflict was made public at a Redesign meeting. Parents alleged that:

- Neither the aides or the parents were trained as promised
- The principal accused the parent "leader" of being high-handed--"No one," he was reported to have said, "is going to run the school except me."
- Two husbands said it's time for men to get involved
- One mother resigned because she was "sick" over the issue.
- The gym teacher told the volunteers: "A lot of you have unwanted children--the mistakes are there at lunch time."

At one point during the heated discussion of the issue, Ms. Flaherty became furious and stormed out of the meeting. Nothing was resolved, largely because the representatives present refused to place the problem on the Redesign agenda.

When student playground fights increased, and conflict between the volunteers and aides continued throughout February, Howard decided it was time to recruit more parents to exert pressure on the administration. She wrote a letter to parents from the "Lunchroom Committee" requesting they contribute $5 per family to the lunch program. Only a few parents were participating in the volunteer program, so a majority had no information on what was going on and probably thought the new plan was working. Since neither the PTA or Redesign would deal with the program, she could not use these channels to publicize the problems. About 50 parents responded to the letter and the superintendent indicated that he was supportive. There were rumors of a "show-down" between the superintendent and Mr. Kaplan.

Convinced, by this time, that the success of any new plan, required representation on the Cornwall PTA board, several of Howard's allies attended a March PTA meeting to nominate her for a board position. The nomination was rejected on the ground that the PTA slate was selected in February and no new nominations could be made from the floor. When Howard discovered that the slate was nominated at a closed meeting held at the president's home and only incumbent PTA board members knew about it, her allies wanted to protest the March election.

Rather than provoke another controversy that might reduce support for the lunch program, Howard advised her allies to put their energy into the action planned by Dunne, Talbott and Turner. Talbott's professional position involved education law and Turner's husband was a lawyer. Based on their assumption that the principal and key staff people would not cooperate with the younger mothers, Dunne, Talbott and Turner began an alternative strategy designed to achieve a policy change.

On finding that the state education law made the local school district responsible for the safety of students during the lunch period and that this mandate included the playground as well as the lunchroom, they decided to define the problem in terms of safety and ignore the other demands that concerned the younger parents (which they saw as complicating the issue). The plan was to ask the superintendent for the district policy in regard to safety during the lunch program. From their previous experience they knew that the district did not have a formal policy on this issue.

At the end of November, the three women sent a letter to the superintendent asking him to present the district lunch policy at the next open school board meeting. The purpose of the letter was to force the administration to face the issue and alert the school board that the district was not complying with state law. It was anticipated that the letter would get the superintendent to prod Mr. Kaplan into cooperating with the parents and provide more aides for the program.

If no steps were taken to correct this they would raise the issue at the open board meeting. Should the Board refuse to take action the next step was to get the local newspaper to expose the problem. Underlying the plan was the hunch that such an exposure would embarass the Board and provoke more parents into action.

The letter to the superintendent referred to the October letter to parents from Mr. Kaplan et al; which had outlined the lack of safety measures and called on parents to assist in supervision. It stated that:

"Volunteers can exercise no meaningful responsibility since they have no direct authority."

Finally, the letter asked the superintendent for answers to the following questions:

1. Who determines policy relating to school lunch programs: the Board of Education or the administration?

2. What is the current policy in the district and does it differ among our elementary schools?

3. What criteria are used for lunch time supervision of the cafeteria and on the playground?

4. Can we have a definitive statement of the school's responsibility for the students' safety?

The superintendent never answered the letter and no answers were provided at the specified open Board meeting. By mid-February, when there was sufficient evidence to indicate the failure of Cornwall staff to cooperate with Ms. Howard's group, Dunne, Talbott and Turner asked to be put on the agenda for the next school board meeting in March. A position paper, which argued that the board's present policy was discriminatory, was read at the open meeting for which about 200 Cornwall parents turned out. It claimed that the Board's policy which provided adequate lunch facilities in 2 district elementary schools, but maintained inadequate and unsafe facilities in Cornwall was a denial of equal education opportunity to the children attending this school.

The school board responded by requesting the superintendent and his staff to develop a district-wide policy. A new policy was adopted in April and funds allocated for the program. Mr. Kaplan did not implement the program with much enthusiasm. After a two-year period his contract was not renewed. His successor, an insider, put a new assistant principal in charge of the program. The PTA created a lunch room committee and a new parent volunteered to serve as chairman. According to the chairman, and former core members of the Lunchroom Group, the program has been running very "smoothly" and no problems were reported.

E. THE PARENT INVOLVEMENT COMMITTEE (PIC)

One year after they had taken over the leadership of the Community Committee for Learning Disabilities, the Fosters in January, 1974: poor group to "take on" problems at the Eastport High School where their oldest child had been in attendance for three years. They had made several trips to the high school to check into problems reported by their daughter, and had met with the principal to discuss their concerns. Because their daughter was in the learning disability category, the principal attributed their concerns to "over-anxiety" and sluffed off their complaints.

THE PROBLEMS. Five areas of concern were suggested by the parents who attended a meeting called by the Fosters in January, 1974: poor articulation between the high school and the middle school, attendance records, administrator-teacher relations, program offerings and parent-teacher relations.

In general, parents felt that many students were disoriented when they transferred from the relatively "tight" middle school to the "loose" high school. Students who were not sufficiently prepared or motivated, interpreted lax attendance-keeping and the teachers' attitudes to a lack of caring. Several parents reported that their children's teachers did not take attendance, and thought this made it too easy for students to "cut" classes. Parents who questioned this had been told that the situation would improve the following year when a computer would be used for attendance records. The parents did not want to wait. Substitutes were not hired unless a teacher was absent more than 3 days; students were told to go to the library.

From their conversations with teachers, some parents had learned that there was little communication between teachers and administrators. There was minimal administraive guidance, leaving teachers to "do their own thing." Those who sympathized with the parents' concerns said they were afraid to raise questions that would challenge the principal and encouraged the parents to take action.

Heterogeneous classes, in the English and Social studies departments, had been challenged by some parents when first instituted in 1970. Parents were told that the change was designed to benefit the less "bright" students, but some felt that it had not benefited either the bright or slow students and might be detrimental to both. There was no indication that the administration was evaluating this innovation--or other changes which had been made in the high school placement procedures and curriculum. Some parents believed there was a need to study the causes of student problems before making changes--in particular, the effectiveness of the regular program.

Most of the parents at the Foster's meeting agreed that when they had met with individual teachers they were responsive. However, they indicated that this was a time-consuming effort, involved being constantly "on top" of the high school situation, and had no effect on problems beyond the teacher's limited authority. It was agreed that parents should not have to take a lot of time straightening out a child's program and impossible for working parents who could not take time off from work to visit the school during the day. Those parents who said they did not like the idea, found that it was the only solution under present arrangements. They were concerned about parents who were not informed about the high school, especially new residents.

Most of the above problems were related to a 1969 decision to institute an Open Campus at the high school, which had reflected pressure from parents associated with the "liberal-progressive" faction of the community, to which the high school principal, Tom Reardon, had many strong ties. Since opposition to this change was frequently interpreted as reflecting traditional-conservative concern with "discipline," it was agreed that parents representing diverse sections of the community should be invited to a meeting with administrators to discuss the problems.

FORMATION OF THE GROUP. Through their involvement in learning disability-related issues, and Mrs. Fosters participation on the School Board Selection Committee, the Fosters had come in contact with several high school parents. From these contacts, and complaints raised at high school meetings, they knew that their concerns were shared by many others. To see if there was any interest in forming a group to deal with the problems, Mrs Foster called a meeting at her home in January 1974.

Fourteen families were represented at the first meeting. Since they were convinced that the success of the CCLD was, in large part, due to the participation of fathers as well as mothers, the Fosters decided only to invite people who were willing to participate in a group action, include fathers as well as mothers, and meet with school administrators to discuss the high school situation.

The purpose of the first meeting was to develop an agenda for a future meeting to which they would invite Mr. Reardon, the superintendent and some board members. The decision to include the superintendent and board members, was based on the parents previous encounters with Mr. Reardon where he had tried to divert parents by focusing attention on what he referred to as "isolated incidents" and blame whatever problems were raised on the parents or the community. For this reason, the parents agreed that they would concentrate on general issues and not get diverted by discussion of individual grievances. In short, parents would not talk about their own children.

THE CORE AND RESOURCES. At a follow-up meeting to discuss the results of a February meeting with Mr. Reardon, the superintendent and the school board, 10 parents agreed to serve on a steering committee. Since Mr. Foster had more experience than anyone else in negotiating with administrators and board members, he was asked to chair the committee.

Four steering committee members were PTA leaders, including the president of the high school PTSA. Though not opinion leaders, the remaining members were respected by other parents because of their community or professional positions. All had ties to school board members or opinion leaders. The PTA leaders had alot of information about what was happening in the high school. PIC was probably the most influential group included in this study. (See Table III-6). The parents anticipated that the superintendent and board members would respond to their concerns because so many members of the committee, particularly the Fosters and the PTA leaders, were people that would be counted on to enlist support for the upcoming school budget.

STRATEGY AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH SCHOOL OFFICIALS. Fourty-one people showed up for the February meeting, including 34 parents, three school board members (including the president), three administrators

TABLE III-6

PARENT INVOLVEMENT COMMITTEE: POSITIONAL BASIS OF INFLUENCE AND PERSONAL RESOURCES

Member	Basis of Influence	Personal Resources
Brenda Foster	Leadership in CCLD	Organizational skills, Contacts with parents
Dan Foster	Leadership in CCLD, Member Selection Committee	Negotiating skills, Contacts in community
Fran Dunne	PTA leader, Husband is political influential	Knowledge of school system, Contacts with parents
Maryanne Frence	PT Council President	Knowledge of school system, Contacts with parents
Susan Babcock	V.P., High School PTSA, Active in community organizations	Contacts with parents

TABLE III-6--Continued

Member	Basis of Influence	Personal Resources
Gloria Warren	President, High School PTSA, LWV leader An opinion leader	Contacts with influentials
Richard White	Volunteer in Boy Scouts	Knows other parents
Robert Klein	College administrator	Expert knowledge: Education and Administration
Virginia Talbott	Active in PTA Active in community organizations, Education-related occupation	Expert knowledge: Education, Contacts with influentials
Marilyn Scott	Active in community organizations	Contacts with parents

(the superintendent, Mr. Reardon and the director of pupil personnel services) and the president of the high school student association. Copies of the concerns raised by parents had been sent with an invitation to the meeting.

On the assumption that the parents were primarily concerned about test scores, the superintendent had asked the director of pupil personnel services to prepare statistics on student achievement. Mr. Foster, who had been asked to speak for the parents who arranged the meeting, pointed out that this was not the issue and began to call on individual parents to present the concerns raised at the January meeting.

As the parents had anticipated, every issue they raised was labeled by Reardon as an isolated incident or a symptom of societal or community problems. He implied that the parents were conservative and unaware of the social changes to which the school had to adjust.

"The building is too big and impersonal for the traditional school as we know it. Society has changed. TV and films have had an enormous influence. The state has abdicated responsibility for morality, and churches are not effective," he pointed out.

In response to a report of an incident that occurred the previous week, which was cited as an example of the "kind of thing that upsets students," Mr. Reardon replied:

"This was an isolated incident. I don't want to go into the real problems, but 30% of the students are living in broken homes, there are about 1,000 known alcoholics in this community, we had an incest problem reported to us, and there are about 300 students in some form of treatment. . . . No other public school in the county has the problems we have and incidents occur two or three times a day." The incident reported by the parent was described as "mild" compared to these severe problems.

At several points, the superintendent observed that he could not do anything about the parents' concerns unless they provided specifics. Since the parents had agreed not to present specifics, they could not respond.

After two hours, the superintendent finally conceded that he was aware that the administration had not responded to the parents' concerns and indicated that he would continue to meet with them since "It is your high school and we want to represent you." The principal asked the parents to write up their concerns.

An outline of the topics for Mr. Reardon's consideration, was prepared at a steering committee meeting on March 25. The topics were: supervision, scheduling class composition, pupil absenteeism, and curriculum. Under each topic was listed a series of questions. For example:

I. Supervision

  A. Teacher absenteeism

1. When a substitute is not provided in the classroom, should the child be assigned to a definite area?

2. What happens to the student during an unsupervised period?

. . .

D. Department Heads

1. Are they tenured?

2. What is their teaching load?

3. How much time do they spend visiting teachers' classrooms?

4. To whom are the accountable?

The outline was sent to the superintendent in April along with a request for a meeting in May to discuss the contents and the principal's response. Mr. Reardon said that the parents had raised too many questions for him to deal with and that the questions were raised in a vacuum. Before addressing the parents' concerns, Mr. Reardon and the superintendent wanted PIC to answer three questions. The answers, which were to be presented to the superintendent, in writing, were to provide the basis for a "meaningful dialogue."

PIC members were not surprised by the turn of events since they all had experienced similar diversions in the past. They figured Reardon would try to wear them out until the end of the term so that they would have to start all over again when school started in the fall. The questions were just another example of Reardon's skill at obfuscation. Still, they went along with the game to see what would happen.

The committee's responses to the questions were submitted to the superintendent on May 23, with a request for answers to the parent's questions. The letter, written by Mr. Foster, invited the superintendent and Mr. Reardon to a meeting on June 5th. It also stated that:

"Within our planned dialogue, we expect positive responses to our original questions and concerns. We are not interested in answering any further questions. The time has arrived for learning, understanding, and discussing the administration's position in relation to our concerns." There was also a P.S. in response to Mr. Reardon's comment that PIC was not an appropriate accronym for a parent group: "We have seriously considered changing the name of our committee. The only suggestion so far has been GUTS: Gear Up for Tomorrow's Schools."

The questions sent to the committee were:

1. What is the purpose of secondary education today?

2. What do you expect a graduate of Eastport High School to have as an educational background; recognizing any variables?

3. What is your conception, sociologically, of our school community?

By the June 5th meeting, Mr. Reardon had written answers to the parents' original questions. At the meeting, the superintendent presented specific changes that would be implemented. In September the attendance procedures were changed and there were indications that teachers and students were receiving more supervision. With these changes the group disbanded.

Steering committee members, all of whom were interviewed for this study, believed that the changes were due not only to their pressure but to the fact that other groups had raised similar questions. They also felt that between 1974 and the present there has been a "tightening up" in most school procedures. Some parents felt that the changes also reflected the nationwide stress on accountability.

Everyone on the steering committee commented on the group's inability to have an impact on curriculum. A key mistake, some noted, was the premature dispersal of the group. "Since we never monitored the results in a formal way, we don't really know what happened--other than what we could learn from our own children's experiences," said one mother.

The interviewer commented:

"It is my perception that many of their (PIC) concerns (open campus, scheduling, drugs, discipline and teacher supervision and accountability) have not really been resolved. In fact some of the problems are now worse. The problem is that with Mr. Reardon dead, and the number of assistant principals who have come and gone, I'm not sure who to approach for additional information. . . ."

When this study began, Mrs. Foster said she planned to reactivate PIC, but that plan did not materialize.

INTERNAL MANAGEMENT. Outside of the group meetings. negotiations with administrators were handled by Mr. Foster who was available to meet with them during the day. Meetings were held at the Fosters' house, with Mrs. Foster making most of the phone calls. A third task, typing meeting agenda and writing the minutes, was done by Mrs. Talbott. Before the committee was formed other parents recruited people to attend the first meetings. Afterwards, only committee members attended meetings.

There were no internal problems. Everyone involved was too busy with other activities to compete with Mr. Foster for leadership. The PTA presidents were relieved to see a father willing to take on the issue. Most of the participants had a great deal of first-hand information on what was going on at the high school and it was relatively easy to reach consensus on the major concerns and strategy.

One explanation for the absence of friction was the Fosters' initial decision to include only parents who agreed with their concerns, and to invite knowledgeable parents. They also recruited a cross section of the community in terms of religion and political preferences.

F. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

All 5 groups began with an ad hoc structure and were independent of the school system. Four initiators had not been active in school affairs prior to forming the groups and had few social ties that could be activated to promote their objective. Their activation was directly or indirectly stimulated by one or more innovations or concepts generated outside the local community. The people recruited by the initiator of PIC were contacts made through her involvement in the CCLD and there were no indications that the mobilization of PIC was stimulated by an external event.

Despite their lack of prior involvement in school affairs, however, the other 4 initiators attracted some parents who had occupied leadership positions or had ties to a dense network of school activists and community influentials. This community level network was partly the result of the local innovations which increased opportunities for interaction among parents with similar goals and partly the result of parent leadership developed through the PTA. In all groups the initial core members were recruited on the basis of preexisting ties, most of which involved acquaintances rather than friends.

The groups rated as "very effective" by core members and school officials involved in the events, were the 4 that achieved a policy change. The significance of the endorsement by outside agents is borne out by the fact that PIC, the group that included the most influentials, did not achieve a policy change and only some of its goals were implemented, was rated as "moderately effective" by a majority of respondents.

The evidence suggests, tentatively, that where innovations are controversial, mobilization is likely to be initiated by newcomers or marginal parents (e.g., those that have not played a central role in school affairs), that initial recruits will be people known to the initiator and that recruitment to the issue will be based on acquaintanceship rather than friendship.

We are unable to make generalizations about the relationship between the type of preexisting ties and effectiveness. That the group initiated on the basis of friendship ties (OCG) was unable to maintain its effectiveness might suggest that affective relationships impede goal attainment. On the other hand, there is evidence that the nature of the issue may be just as, or more important, than the nature of the social ties. Implementing the goals of 4 groups required the cooperation of teachers (CCLD, OCG, PFP and PIC). An administrator was a core member of CCLD and was reported to have played a central role in strategy development and paving the way for the cooperation of other administrators. PFP was initiated by a teacher. There were no comparable "insiders" in either OCG or PIC. Several members of OCG stated that failure to develop alliances with teachers was probably a critical mistake. The evidence suggests that if the goal requires a change in teacher behavior, the participation of school personnel is a primary resource.

Data from the case studies suggest that the ad hoc group structure serves 3 major purposes:

1. It enables less attached, or marginal, citizens to develop leadership skills and assume leadership positions without fulfilling the traditional prerequisites for community leadership.

2. It provides low-risk participation for attached or integrated citizens who do not want to jeopardize their positions by overt identification with the partisans.

3. It is an efficient, low-cost organizing mechanism.

Findings suggest that the external events which endorsed the participation of parents around special interests, weakened the control of school policies by professionals and parents who conformed to professional rules. These events created resources which enabled goal-directed newcomers who had developed leadership skills in previous settings, or who had leadership potential, to by-pass the traditional prerequisites for assuming leadership positions.

In all cases, the formation of conflict groups took place outside of institutionalized community and school structures. Challengers were not constrained, as were the more integrated parents, by fears that confrontations with school administrators would jeopardize their children's interests or their own social positions. At the same time, the attached parents who supported the issue could provide resources to the conflict group without overt identification with the partisans. This occurred in the LD issue where many parents wished to avoid the stigma of having a child in this category or the possible negative effects on the child. In the high school issue, several PTA leaders covertly supported the conflict group but overtly maintained a cooperative relationship with the administration.

As long as initiators and core members are willing to do most of the work, informal ad hoc groups can avoid the collective goods dilemma encountered by large organizations (Olson, 1968). Since the groups are small, the participation of every member counts, and motivation is typically based on the expectation of improved services for the members' children. The cost for peripheral members is low--to turn out for a few important meetings in order to convince decision makers that there is a constituency to support the issue.

IV. NETWORK RELATED DATA AND OTHER SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CORE MEMBERS

This section briefly summarizes data on the relationships between initiators and recruits, personal networks and some of the social characteristics of core members.

A. PREEXISTING TIES BETWEEN INITIATORS AND RECRUITS

As mentioned in Section I, a primary focus of this study was on the social ties of group members. We asked each core member who had recruited him/her to the group, if they were good friends (people they felt "close" to) or acquaintances prior to joining the group, and how/where the 2 had met.

The total number of core members in the 5 groups came to 42. Seven were initiators. This analysis is based on the 35 people who were recruited by the initiators or other group members. Eighty percent of the relationships were formed prior to joining the group. Of these, more than half (54%) were acquaintances, one-fourth were good friends and 10% were people they knew from other shared activities (school or community) but did not consider either acquaintances or good friends.

As Table IV-1 indicates, almost all of the people recruited to the Open Classroom Group were good friends (6 out of 8). Almost all of the recruits to the Community Committee on Learning Disabilities had no prior relationship with anyone in the group (6 out of 8 were referred to the group by school personnel). In the Lunch Room Group and Parent Involvement Committee, the majority were acquaintances or people known through other activities.

Twenty-six of the 35 ties between initiators and other core members were formed within the community. The school system was the most frequently mentioned interaction setting (46%) but the rest were formed in a non-institutional setting. Thirty percent were based in the neighborhood. The remaining ties were formed through social contacts, children or a community organization membership.

The ties formed out of the district (N=9), were based on marriage, work or a previous neighborhood relationship.

TABLE IV-1

BASIS OF INITIATOR RECRUIT RELATIONSHIP FOR 5 GROUPS

	Group					
Basis of Relationship	LD	OCG	PFP	LR	PIC	Total
Relative	1		1		1	3
Good Friend		6	1			7
Acquaintance	1	2	5	3	4	15
No previous relationship	6				1	7
Knew each other but not good friends or acquaintances					3	3
Total	8	8	7	3	9	35

B. PERSONAL NETWORKS

Core members were asked to name 2 types of people known to them outside the group:

1) People they had worked with on an educational issue prior to joining the group

2) People they perceived as likely to support their education interests

The 42 core members mentioned 176 people. Again, the school system was the most frequently mentioned interaction setting (44%). Twenty percent of the relationships were formed through social contacts, 10% were made in the neighborhood, 11% through children and 7% through community organizations.

As Table IV-2 shows, the largest networks are concentrated in CCLD, OCG and PIC. One might infer, on the basis of the finding, that these groups would be able to enlist more support for their cause than members of PFP and LR. However, this would be the case only if the members mentioned different people. To assess this factor, we selected the names mentioned at least once by the people in each group and refer to this as the number of "unique mentions" (column c in Table IV-2).

Considering the number of unique mentions, rather than the total number mentioned by each individual, dramatically reduces the number of people that could be reached by the group in 2 cases: CCLD and OCG. The number of people mentioned by members of CCLD was 45. But only 18 of these were unique mentions. This means 27 people were mentioned by 2 or more members. The comparable figures for the OCG are 38 and 17, a reduction of 21 people.

Another factor to consider in assessing the ability of a group to enlist support is the relationships between the people outside the group. This factor is usually referred to, in network research, as "density." Where all or almost all of the people mentioned know each other, the group's network would be described as "tightly knit." If most of the people mentioned do not know each other the network would be described as "loosely knit." (See Appendix A for more details on this concept and how it was operationlized in this study.)

The range of density scores for the 5 groups (.01 = .32) suggests that all of the groups were loosely knit. In one group less than a third of the people mentioned knew each other and all other scores were lower than this. From this we might infer that

TABLE IV-2

TOTAL NUMBER OF MENTIONS AND NUMBER OF UNIQUE MENTIONS

Group	(a) Members with Internal Network	(b) Total Number Mentions	(c) Total Number of Unique Mentions
LD	5	45	18
OCG	4	38	17
PFP	4	18	17
LR	4	22	20
PIC	8	53	49

all the groups could enlist support from different individuals, social grouping or segments of the community.

Data from the case studies, however, suggests that the potential for recruiting members from different segments of the community was low for 2 groups: OCG and PFP. OCG core members were all Jewish (almost all of the peripheral members were also Jewish), their organizational affiliations were concentrated in 3 local organizations, and Jews comprised between 20-25% of the total district population. Finally there was a philosophical component in the open classroom concept that appealed to people with a "child-centered" approach to teaching methods, so the goal had the potential of generating opposition from parents who supported traditional methods.

There were 3 factors that limited recruitment to PFP: membership was restricted to blacks, the core was dominated by middle class black professionals who were relative newcomers perceived as a threat by some blacks who occupied leadership positions, and blacks comprised a very small percent of the total district population.

C. TIES TO INFLUENTIALS

The case studies indicated that, with the exception of PIC, the group initiators did not know any influentials when they started the group. Influentials were former or present PTA presidents, school board members, school officials, community leaders and parents reported to be opinion leaders.

Influentials became core members or principal actors in 4 of the groups. The evidence suggests that they were important in developing strategies and access to decision makers. There were also core members in all 5 groups who had ties or developed ties to influentials.

To see if there were changes over time, we looked at the people mentioned by the members of 2 groups that were still active at the time of our interviews (spring 1979). These were PFP and OCG. In both of these groups the core members with the most ties to influentials were no longer active. There were 2 members of OCG who mentioned influentials and both left the group after 3 years. Only 1 remaining member of OCG could mention anyone outside the group who she could count on for support, but none of those mentioned were influentials. This finding seems particularly noteworthy since 1 still active core member and 2 former peripheral members, became PTA presidents.

D. OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF CORE MEMBERS

1. Sex, Occupation, Religion, Home Ownership

Eight of the 42 core members were men who were active in 3 groups: CCLD, PFP and PIC. The men included a corporation executive, a university professor, a lawyer, an assistant principal and 3 who owned their own business. Three of these men worked in the district or a nearby suburb.

Those who were not married (N=4) were black women. The married women's husbands were all professionals, business executives or owned their own businesses. The only people who did not own their own home were three of the single women.

Forty-three percent (N=18) had some college or a BA. Forty-one percent (N=17) had earned or were working on a graduate degree.

Thirty-nine core members responded to a question on religious affiliation. Seventeen (44%) said they were Jewish, 12 (31%) were Protestant and 7 (18%) were Catholic. These findings are consistent with the results of our field interviews where most observers perceived Jewish parents as disproportionately active in school affairs. However, only 1 man was Jewish.

2. Participation in School Activities

Only one-third of the core members were highly involved in school activities at the time they joined the group or later. These parents were PTA leaders or members of the School Board Selection Committee. They reported that they attended school board and PTA meetings "frequently" and served as school volunteers.

3. Organizational Membership.

Thirty-four percent of the core members belonged to at least 1 local organization before they joined the group. Organizational memberships were concentrated in 2 of the conflict groups: CCLD and PIC. With the exception of 2 men, all initial core members in these groups had at least 3 affiliations. There were 4 members with 3 memberships, 5 with 4 memberships and 1 who belonged to 6 organizations prior to joining the group. PFP included 1 member with high organizational memberships at the time she joined.

Comparison of organizational memberships of core memebers before and after joining the group (Table IV-3), suggests that recruits to OCG and LR became more integrated into the associational life of the community after participating in the conflict group.

Of 17 women who belonged to the womens division of a religious organization, 14 occupied leadership positions at the time of our interview or in the past. Only 2 of the men reported this type of membership and both held leadership positions.

4. Social Activities

Social activities for almost half (49%) of the core members were concentrated in the district (almost all or 75% or their social activities take place in the district). Another 26% said about 50% of such activities take place in the district. The rest were equally divided between spending one-fourth of their time in the district or less than one-fourth. Half of those who responded to an item on the location of their best friends said that most of these persons lived in the district.

TABLE IV-3

TOTAL NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS, INITIAL CORE MEMBERS, BEFORE AND AFTER JOINING GROUP

Group	Size of Initial Core	Before		After		Difference
		Number	Average	Number	Average	
LD	4	14	3.5	18	4.5	+1.0
OCG	7	4	.57	14	2.0	+1.43
PFP	4	9	2.25	12	3.0	+ .75
LR	4	5	1.25	10	2.5	+1.25
PIC	9	34	3.7	45	5.0	1.2

V. INTERACTION SETTINGS AND MOBILIZATION RESOURCES

A. INTERACTION SETTINGS

The school system was the most frequently mentioned interaction setting in responses to the questionnaire items on where core members had met the person who recruited him/her to the group and the people included in personal networks. Forty percent of the relationships in the first category and 44% of those in the second, were formed through school activities. These activities included the PTA, school board sponsored committees, the school board selection committee, and school meetings.

Some of the remaining ties between initiators and recruits were formed prior to moving to the district. The rest of those included in the personal networks were people met in the district. These within-district relationships were made in the neighborhood, through social events, introductions through children and community organizations.

The frequency of the school as the interaction setting seems particularly important in view of the relatively insignificant role of community organizations as settings for the participants in this study. For these respondents, then, the school is the major institution for promoting parent interaction. The other settings, neighborhood, social gatherings, children's friends are non-institutionalized and their use more dependent on idiosyncratic factors.

Within the Eastport school system there are a number of formal arrangements that create opportunities for a parent to interact with other parents and school personnel. Although use of these arrangements varies, the important fact is that they are open to all parents who want to take advantage of them. Some of these arrangements are formal structures designed to enable parents to participate in decisions, others serve the function of disseminating information, developing parent leadership and promoting school-community linkage or cooperative relationships. These include:

1. Regularly scheduled open school board meetings which are held in the evening (thus more convenient for working parents than day-time meetings). Few parents, other than PTA leaders, attend board meetings on a regular basis, but

in a crisis situation they are usually packed. In a crisis, the school board has also held meetings at individual schools.

2. Democratic procedures for resolving financial controversies and electing representatives.

    a. There is an annual vote on the school budget. State law requires that the budget be approved by citizens, and that the school board hold a public hearing prior to the election.

    b. The community has set up a nominating caucus and institutionalized procedures for running independent candidates.

3. An independent parent organization run by parents. Although few parents are active in this organization, it serves to develop parent leadership and some degree of sustained parent involvement. In addition to its involvement in day-to-day issues, the PTA sponsors fund raising events, parent-teacher social events (lunches or dinners), and other events that attract parents who are typically not involved in PTA affairs.

    The structure of the PTA, which includes a district level council comprised of PTA presidents and other local school representatives, promotes awareness of system and district-level problems and the needs of students from schools other than those attended by the parents' children. In the absence of such a district level structure, parents tend to concentrate on their own children and local school needs.

4. "Back to School" nights. A few weeks after school starts in the fall, parents are invited to visit their children's classes for an evening meeting where the teacher describes her teaching methods and plans for the coming year. Some teachers also explain their grading methods and other procedures. There is usually time for parent questions and an exchange of ideas and/or information. Given the diversity of teacher expectations and methods in some schools, this arrangement is important.

5. Parent-teacher conferences. At the elementary level, teachers are required to hold at least 2 half hour conferences with each parent to discuss the child's achievement. Students are dismissed 1 hour early one day a week to allow time for these conferences. Teachers are also required to set up early morning conferences for

parents who work or unable to attend day-time meetings for other reasons. Most teachers will also hold additional conferences to accommodate special parent concerns or student needs.

6. Parent volunteer programs which enable parents to interact with teachers and other personnel, as well as monitor (informally) what's going on in the school.

7. School board sponsored community-school committees or study groups. Parent participants are usually selected to represent a broad cross-section of the community.

8. Parent produced newsletters at each local school. The principal and teachers often write articles for these publications, but most articles are written by PTA officers and other parents. The editor usually submits the copy for the principal's review but this is done out of courtesy (rather than official requirement) or to ensure that the information is accurate.

9. The "Class Mother" system. Two parents in each class are given the names and phone numbers of parents whose children are enrolled in that class. They recruit parents to assist the teacher with class trips and inform parents if a problem arises.

Only a few parents play a direct and on-going role in decision making at the district level: PTA officers, participants in the school board nominating caucus, school board meetings and school board-sponsored study committees. Nevertheless, these structures contribute to the development of parent leadership (including some degree of leadership continuity) and linkage among local school parent leaders and between parent leaders and decision makers (administrators and school board members).

According to the estimates provided by local school principals and school board members, about 5% of Eastport parents is active on this district level. A comparable number is probably involved in volunteer activities (tutoring, helping teachers with trips, etc.). The network data on Eastport activists revealed that the school setting was the most frequent site for meeting persons mentioned in personal school affairs networks. These mentions were concentrated in the groups whose members had occupied leadership roles.

The highest rate of parent involvement in district level decisions is associated with school board elections and the annual budget. The highest rate of involvement at local schools is at the elementary level--particularly among middle class women who do not work, spend most of their time in the community and use the community facilities. These women have many opportunities to develop contacts within the school setting. This is reflected in the fact that most of the people included in the school affairs network of the full-time homemakers were met through school meetings and other activities sponsored by the school system. These are the women who assume PTA leadership roles, participate in the formal structures and have the largest school-related networks. They also have the time to exchange child-care services with other parents (e.g., "car pools").

Most Eastport principals and school board members reported that a majority of parents participate in school sponsored events that relate directly to their own children: "Back to School Night," fund raisers and individual parent-teacher conferences. When the school budget is threatened, parent support is generated by the PTA and some community organizations. Parents produce their own newsletter at each local school. The PTA at each school has a list of phone numbers and addresses for all parents by class and sets up a system whereby 2 parents from each class can contact other parents to disseminate information in a crisis or to recruit volunteers to assist teachers.

A majority of the employed parents who joined the ad hoc groups spent most of their time during the week outside of the community. While their occupations may provide information and skills useful to local school issues (particularly for those parents who are professional educators in other school systems), these personal contacts made in the work setting are not relevant to Eastport school issues. They do not have time to participate in the formal school structures which they frequently perceive as a "waste" of time. Thus they appear to be dependent on their immediate neighbors, parents of their children's friends and informal week-end social gatherings to develop ties that can be activated to support their educational interests. Not surprisingly, their personal networks are small and rarely include educational influentials (PTA leaders, school board members and school administrators).

The history of school-community relations presented in Section II and the case studies presented in Section III, suggest that these school structures and arrangements serve best the interests of the parents and citizens who support the status quo. However, the case studies indicate that they help to create mobilization resources for parents interested in change:

1. Contacts with established PTA leaders who can provide information and help develop access to decision makers.

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2. Parent teacher alliances (parents can identify sympathetic "insiders").

3. Contacts with other parents who share common interests.

4. Institutionalized procedures for resolving conflicts once the group has mobilized sufficient support.

On the basis of evidence included in Section II and III, and other data presented in earlier papers on Eastport school-community controversies (Steinberg, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974), we have identified the following community characteristics which appear to foster parent interaction around school issues. These include:

1. A heterogeneous population which provides a basis for developing conflicting views on how the schools should be run or the basis for perceiving school decisions as threatening, thus creating the potential for factions within the community or community-school hostility.

2. Parent leadership or potential leadership.

3. Parent and/or citizen awareness of a threat. In Eastport the local newspaper covers all school board meetings and usually discusses such issues. (Such threats include decisions to eliminate services, vandalism or violence, etc.). Although parents active in the school usually get word of these incidents fairly quickly, those who are not involved are more dependent on the media.

4. School personnel who live in the district and participate in community affairs. These persons frequently hear about decisions before they are made public and spread the information to parents--particularly if they want parents to oppose them.

5. Settings that attract parents with young children:

    a. Established institutions that serve local families (churches, scout groups, libreary, health services, etc.)

    b. Public recreational facilities (parks, playgrounds, beaches, pools, tennis courts etc.)

    c. Shopping centers (preferably located near the neighborhood school such as those around Cornwall)

6. Mothers who are full-time homemakers willing to devote time to school affairs and/or parents employed in the community in work settings that attract parents.

The evidence indicates that citizens and parents who want to oppose the budget, school board candidates or change some aspect of the school program usually mobilize outside of the school channels. There appear to be 2 factors that generate external mobilization: a heterogeneous population (within the school system and the community--including school personnel) and issues to fight about.

The Eastport school district is shared by 3 heterogeneous communities with diversity based on socioeconomic status, religion, race, political orientations, educational values and lifestyles. The school system is the only public institution shared by the residents. Many of the tensions which are related to group differences stimulate divergent perceptions of school programs or decisions and lead to conflict. There appear to be 4 types of issues that provoke intergroup conflict over school decisions in Eastport: finances, school board candidates, administrative policies and dissatisfaction with school programs or services.

Periodic controversy over the budget and school board candidates is virtually guaranteed by the fact that a majority of residents are property owners. Seventy-five percent of the school revenues come from local property taxes, thus most residents have a direct interest in financial matters and the board members who make those decisions. The residents who dominate opposition to school budgets and candidates usually represent three groups: retired citizens on fixed incomes, others with high incomes and high property assessments, and the working class and poor.

A majority of parents whose children attend the public schools want to preserve existing services (or add on new ones) and therefore can be counted on to support the budget--but this can never be taken for granted. Whenever the budget is threatened (which is increasingly the case in recent years), PTA leaders and other concerned parents spend almost full time (for several weeks) promoting the budget among parents and neighbors. The mobilization of property owner groups to vote against the budget or select fiscal "conservatives" for board members is usually sufficient to activate the parent vote.

Then there are the administrative decisions that are perceived as threats to some parent factions, such as the transfer of sixth graders to Cornwall and Maplewood to Davis and Ward (described in Section II). Some proponents of that decision tried to discredit the opposition by circulating rumors that opposition was based on racial rather than education or safety issues. Variations of this pattern have been repeated in several controversies. For example, opposition to the Cornwall principal (Mr. Kaplan) was labelled as "anti-semitism." (There is evidence that anti-semitic incidents increased with the expansion of the Jewish population.)

Principals and teachers who oppose administrative decisions sometimes find it easier to galvanize parents rather than take action on their own (which they typically fear will jeopardize their positions or relationships with the superintendent). The usual pattern is to present the plan to parents in a manner that will encourage them to perceive the plan as a threat to their child's interest, or the parents' values. The "open campus" plan at the high school, for instance, was attributed by some teachers (as well as parents) to the principal's response to pressure from "liberal" parents.

Finally, there are the issues that reflect parent dissatisfaction such as those described in Section III.

B. MOBILIZATION RESOURCES

We developed an inventory of resources available to the ad hoc groups involved in this study. These include resources possessed by the members when the group was first organized and those developed during the time they were active in the group. Some are based on the positions occupied by the members, others represent personal characteristics. A third category of resources is related to the nature of the issue. These resources were derived from the roles the members played in the group or their major contribution to the group. Roles within the group:

1. Opinion leaders. The participation of opinion leaders helps to establish the credibility of the group in the eyes of school authorities and potential members. Their presence ensures other parents that it's OK to challenge the school system. These are members who are respected by other parents, school officials and other community leaders. This respect appears to be based on 3 sources:

    a. The possession of expert knowledge stemming from an occupational status (e.g., parents usually pay attention to a teacher's evaluation of a school program).

   b. Community positions: people who have held elected or appointed positions in community organizations--particularly those relevant to education (e.g., a present or former PTA president).

   c. Social connections in the community: people who are friends of community influentials.

2. Political strategist. Someone who understands the educational bureaucracy and the school board, has had experience in other school districts or the political arena. This person is usually familiar with community organizations and has a repertoire of tactics for mobilizing and negotiating. While other members of the core can participate in this activity, a majority usually defer to the person who assumes this role. When there is more than 1 strategist, there can be disagreement on tactics--a major source of tension in some groups.

3. Educational expert. This member formulates a specific remedy or alternative to solve the problem(s) and reviews the solution designed by school officials. Ideally this person has access to information about outside sources (e.g., voluntary associations and other school systems). If the group does not include such an expert it may have access to a consultant hired by the school system.

4. A "mediator" to help the group resolve internal conflicts, develop concensus on strategy and goals and focus the group on issues if it gets diverted by individual problems, personal rivalries, etc.

5. A coordinator (usually referred to as the "leader") who allocates tasks, sees to it that key members are kept informed of group's activities, arranges meetings of the group, etc.

6. Mobilizers. People who have extensive personal contacts through which they can recruit 2 types of supporters:

   a. Other parents whose children are directly affected by the issue.

   b. Sympathizers--people whose children are not directly affected by the issue, but who support the group on philosophical grounds.

7. "Insiders." Administrators or other school personnel who can inform the group of what's happening in the system relevant to the group's concern, predict the outcomes of

alternative strategies, availability of resources to implement the solutions, etc.

8. Monitors. Parents who are available during the day to visit the schools, observe programs and report back to the group.

9. Effective speakers. At least one person who can articulate the group's concerns in a moderate and non-threatening manner.

Other resources based on members' affiliations outside the group:

10. Participation in community organizations which enable members to interact with other parents and residents interested in the school system. These include the PTA, the LWV, Junior League, School Board Selection Committee, church groups, neighborhood associations, political and social clubs, etc. Through these ties members can recruit new members, disseminate information about the group's goals, etc.

11. Volunteers. Members who have contributed services to the school system. These activities provide members with ties to insiders. Thev include: class mothers, professionals who have served as consultants to advisory committees, teachers aides, etc.

12. Access to external authorities. These would include administrators in the state education department or state and federal legislators who may provide information and/or moral support.

13. Membership in voluntary associations outside the district which promote the issues on a county, regional, state or national level. Through these ties members have access to new information, expert consultants, etc.

Resources related to the nature of the innovation or issue:

14. The group's demand or concern has been endorsed (or is related to an issue which has been endorsed) by higher authorities (e.g., equal educational opportunity).

15. Material resources to implement the innovation are available from federal or state agencies.

16. Ideological or emotional appeal. An issue related to a "cause" or ideologv, around which members can develop a

strong commitment or identity, and enlist support from sympathizers within and beyond the community.

Resources related to composition of the school enrollment or population:

17. The number of parents whose children are directly affected by the issue.

18. Some estimate of potential support or opposition from the community at large (i.e., is the issue likely to provoke controversy within the community?).

VI. THE URBAN RESEARCH SITE

A. STUDY QUESTION

The central question underlying this phase of the study was: Would poor and minority inner-city parents who want to improve their children's schools be able to mobilize the same or comparable resources as the Eastport parents if their objectives were resisted by local school authorities?

B. SELECTION OF 5 CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOODS

When the proposal for this study was written, we did not know whether or not we would find Chicago parents who were actively involved in promoting an innovation or change and who could be compared to the Eastport parent groups. Therefore, the plan was to examine 5 Chicago neighborhood school sites in terms of the school and community characteristics that appeared to foster or develop mobilization resources for the Eastport parents.

Following preliminary analysis of the data on the Eastport ad hoc groups, we interviewed 42 Chicago residents who represented city and neighborhood organizations who had been identified as formerly or currently involved in educational issues. The purpose of these interviews was to obtain background information on the formal procedures for parent participation in decision making at the city and local school levels and to identify the structural differences between the Chicago and Eastport school systems that might affect levels of participation at the city and local levels.

Interviewees were presented with a brief summary of the findings of the Eastport study and then asked to assess the ability of poor and minority Chicago parents to develop comparable groups. Most of those interviewed predicted that it would be difficult to find similar groups in poor and minority neighborhoods. Explanations typically stressed the following:

1. Parents in these neighborhoods would not have comparable levels of education (to the Eastport parents). This would reduce their ability to assess factors related to the quality of educational services.

2. Such parents, informants predicted, would have lower political and organizational skills, thus they could be easily manipulated by school administrators.

3. These neighborhoods would have higher levels of multiple problem families, families on welfare, female headed households and working mothers--all of which could be expected to reduce parent participation in school activities (of all types).

4. The participation of Latino parents would be impeded by a language barrier--particularly in "port of entry" neighborhoods. Several informants suggested that cultural barriers might also reduce participation of a challenging nature: Mexican-American and Puerto Rican-American women, it was reported, come from a tradition which socializes parents to respect educators and regard them with a deferential attitude.

5. Latinos have not been able to develop influence in city politics--thus at the neighborhood level they would probably not be able to enlist support from ward politicians. It was suggested that where blacks had achieved political influence, parents could probably receive support from local politicians.

Some informants mentioned neighborhood schools where parents had been involved in innovations in the early 1970s. With 1 exception, follow-up interviews revealed that where the parents had instigated the reform, the key actors were middle class (usually professionals). But most of the innovations were promoted by school administrators or teachers--or these actors were involved from the beginning in a supportive way. However, the cases shared a common element: there was a community organization involved, usually providing technical assistance to parent groups. This was also true of 3 cases where Hispanic parents mobilized through neighborhood organizations to get the central Board of Education to build new neighborhood schools.

This information led to the decision to investigate at each site, the availability of a community organization (or organizations) that had actually provided resources for parents in the past, in addition to other opportunities similar to those found in Eastport.

Those informants who were familiar with neighborhoods with large concentrations of black and Latino parents were asked to identify school and/or community characteristics that might affect parents' ability to develop influence through informal social processes--specifically those factors that might impede parent mobilization at the neighborhood level.

Informants were also asked to identify neighborhoods reported to have either high or low levels of parent participation so that we might document some of the factors that promote or impede mobilization.

The proposal specified the selection of 5 neighborhoods where school enrollments would differ in terms of social class and ethnicity. Since blacks and Latinos are the major minorities in Chicago, we concentrated on these groups.

Based on the informants' advice and preliminary interviews with active parents and/or community organizers, we selected 5 schools with the enrollment and neighborhood characteristics shown in Table VI-1.

The Chicago school financial crisis erupted while the above interviews were being conducted. The selection process was somewhat influenced by this event. We assumed that, since the crisis threatened the elimination or reduction of services in all Chicago schools, it was an event that would promote parent mobilization and was comparable to the budget controversies observed in Eastport. If we found no parent participation around this issue, the investigation of this non participation should provide insights.

The major criteria for selecting the 5 schools were:

1. Evidence that parents were trying to organize to have an impact on a local school problem (either related to the financial crisis or an issue identified by parents at a local school). Schools included in this category were Deegan and Polinsky.

2. Reports that there had been an active parent/community group at the school within the last 10 years but no visible sign of active parents in the present. Harrison and Seelev were in this category.

3. Evidence of community characteristics that would lead us to anticipate high level of parent participation. Marshall.

4. Presence of a community organization involved with education (Polinsky and Marshall).

5. Characteristics of school personnel that might reduce parent participation (Deegan and Harrison).

TABLE VI-1: ENROLLMENT CHARACTERISTICS, LEVEL OF PARENT PARTICIPATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS 5 CHICAGO SCHOOL SITES

School	Enrollment Characteristics[a]	Level of Parent Involvement[b]	Neighborhood Characteristics[c]
Deegan High	Total Enrollment - 2633 Percent Black - 81 Percent Latino - 15 Other - 4	Low	School located in predominantly working class Latino neighborhood Parent leadership assisted by community organizations and school administrators in early 1970s
Marshall Elementary	Total Enrollment - 554 Percent Black - 98	Low	Integrated (Black/white) Community level organization with School Committee Residents predominantly middle and working class School located in a declining neighborhood with increasing crime rate
Polinsky Elementary	Total Enrollment - 738 Percent Mexican - 90	Low	Predominantly Mexican-American Established Mexican-American organization with history of involvement in school issues
Harrison	Total Enrollment - 801 Percent Latino - 65	Low	Predominantly white middle and working class with "pockets" of poverty residents mainly Latino and black Neighborhood coalition formed to deal with financial crisis
Seeley Elementary	Total Enrollment - 615 Percent Puerto Rican 33 Percent Black (est) 33 Others 33	Low	Mixed ethnic: Black, Latino and other Mixed social class

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[a] Enrollment data is for 1977-1978 school year, except for Dalton figures which are based on 1975-1976 data.

[b] Level of parent involvement based on principal and parent estimates of participation before the economic crisis and researcher observations after crisis.

[c] Neighborhood characteristics derived from interviews with principal and community leaders.

C. RESEARCH METHODS

1. At each school site we interviewed from 6 to 10 parents whose children attended the neighborhood school. Wherever possible interviews were conducted with parents identified as active in school affairs and others identified as not active (at the time of the interview).

   The guide developed for these parent interviews (Appendix C-1) was designed to indicate the availability of the same or comparable mobilization resources that were found in Eastport and included:

   a. An on-going independent parent organization

   b. Sustained parent leadership

   c. Regularly scheduled parent organization meetings

   d. Parent organized fund raising events

   e. School sponsored activities that create opportunities for parents to meet school personnel and/or other parents:

      Teacher/school initiated class meetings
      Parent-teacher conferences
      Volunteer activities
      Class mother system

   f. A parent newsletter

   In addition, the guide included items related to the parents':

   a. Actual participation in local school issues

   b. Participation at the district and city levels

   c. Perceptions of principal and teachers

   d. School affairs network

   e. Membership in neighborhood and city level organizations

   f. Social activities and other items included in the Eastport interview guide

2. Four to 5 interviews were conducted at each site with informants identified as knowledgeable about past and present levels of parent participation. Informants included school personnel (teachers, principal, school-community representatives and aides), present or former parent leaders and community organization members.

   The interview guide (Appendix C-2) included items on:

   a. Community based organizations involved in school issues and the type of resource(s) provided by the organization for school parents

   b. Evidence of parent use of organization resources

   c. Indication of previous parent-community efforts to promote change at the local school

3. Observation of at least 1 parent meeting at each school site (Appendix C-3).

4. To assess the availability of neighborhood interaction settings for parents at each school site we conducted a tour covering a 2-3 block radius. We looked for the following types of facilities or services:

   a. Institutional facilities (churches, scout groups, library, child-care services)

   b. Public recreational facilities (including school playground)

   c. Shops, luncheonettes, laundry, etc.

The method for selecting parent respondents is discussed in the summary of findings at each site. A Spanish version of the interview guide was administered to Spanish dominant parents.

VII. RESULTS OF THE URBAN RESEARCH

This section presents background on parent participation, descriptions of the 5 school sites and a summary of the resources available to parents at these sites.

A. BACKGROUND ON PARENT PARTICIPATION IN CHICAGO

The information presented here is based on interviews with members of city level organizations who were active in school issues at the time of the interview (September 1979 - March 1980), or in the recent past.

Comparison of the formal arrangements for parent participation in Chicago and Eastport suggests a number of obstacles for parents who wish to organize at the local school level. In contrast to Eastport, the Chicago school system offers few opportunities for parents to meet and interact with school personnel and other parents. This generalization applies to all levels of the system.

The most obvious difference is the highly centralized organization and the almost total exclusion of Chicago parents from the decision center: the Chicago Board of Education. As the summary of events in Eastport indicated, the highest levels of parent participation at the district level are associated with the election of school board members and the budget vote. In Chicago, parents have no official role in either of these functions. While parents are permitted to present positions on policy issues, or grievances, at school board meetings, the procedures appear designed to obstruct rather than promote the democratic process.

Board meetings are held in the middle of the week and begin at 1 p.m. To appear on the agenda, parents must sign up by 11 a.m. the day of the meeting. These procedures must be considered in light of the fact that most parents do not live close to Board headquarters so that participation at this level is an all-day affair. Those who work downtown must take time off to sign up, go back to their workplace and then return for the 1 p.m. meeting.

At the local school level, parent participation is fragmented by a multiplicity of councils (PTAs, Local School

Councils and Parent Advisory Councils mandated by some federal and state funded programs . There is evidence that some principals dominate the PTAs and LSCs, even requiring parents to sign a contract giving the school a percentage of the funds raised through candy sales! In some schools the funds are used to buy work books and supplies for students. Still, the practice would not be tolerated by Eastport parents. Several informants who are leaders in the Chicago Region PTA (a city level organization whose members include local PTA chapters) said that the PTA is against parent organizations signing such contracts with the principal but can only intervene in these matters when local parents request it.

Few resources are available to train Chicago parents. When the LSCs were initially set up, a local foundation donated funds for a training program, but the practice was not repeated. PTA leaders admitted that their organization lacked the resources to provide the type of leadership training needed at some schools. There were several allegations that citywide organizations that had received funds for parent training were not doing an effective job because they were dependent on status-quo oriented corporations and foundations for support.

In Eastport, the highest rates of involvement at the local school level reflect parents' interest in their own childrens' schooling. Almost everyone attends the annual "Back to School Night," where teachers describe their program plans for the coming year, and a carnival or fair usually held on a Saturday so that whole families can participate. Although these events rarely involve discussions of problems, they provide opportunities for parents to develop and maintain relationships with other parents, teachers, administrators and board members. They exchange information about what's going on and get a sense of who to contact if and when a problem develops. In addition, parents have access to information through the "class mothers" who maintain a list of all parents in each class. Only one comparable opportunity appears to exist in Chicago on a system-wide basis: the "Open House" where parents are invited to the school to meet the classroom teacher and pick up the student's report card. Every parent we interviewed said that the teachers did not use this event to describe the curriculum, nor is there usually a dialogue among parents. Where principals were reported to resist parent involvement, they usually controlled the parents' access to information and other parents.

B. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE 5 SCHOOL SITES

For each of the 5 school sites we will summarize data on the respondents, the neighborhood environment, parent participation and leadership, and community resources.

1. THE DEEGAN HIGH SCHOOL

Respondents. Twenty-one people were interviewed at this site: 9 parents, 1 teacher, 7 community organization members, 1 block club member, 2 police officers, and a former district superintendent. Eight of the parents were selected and interviewed by Mrs. Jane Stanley, a Deegan parent whose daughter (a junior) was shot by a gang member on her way home from school. Mrs. Stanley, the teacher, 2 police officers and former district superintendent were interviewed by the principal investigator. The community organization members were interviewed by Mrs. Stanley and a professional researcher who has worked on previous studies of parent participation in Chicago. Mrs. Stanley is a divorced single parent on welfare.

The School Environment. As shown in Table VI-1, Deegan was selected because of its predominantly black and poor student enrollment and reports of "strong" parent leadership in the mid 1970s. Mobilization resources are assessed from the perspective of black parents.

The school is located in a predominantly Mexican residential section ("Little Mexico"), where a majority of residents are reported to own their own home.

Since there are no shops, public recreational facilities or institutions with child-oriented services within a two-block radius of Deegan, the immediate school environment is rated as very low in terms of parent interaction settings.

Most of the black students enrolled in Deegan live in "Greenfield," part of Chicago's predominantly black West Side, which was the scene of riots in the late 1960s and considered a high crime area in the present. We did not have the resources to investigate the whole community of Greenfield, so confined our tour to the area in which Mrs. Stanley lives. A church was the only family-oriented institution located close to her apartment. On every block near her home, there were vacant lots and burned out buildings. There is a small independent grocery store around the corner from her home, however Mrs. Stanley said she cannot afford the high prices (she must feed 6 children and herself on an allowance from welfare and food stamps) so does most of her shopping at coops and chain stores outside of the neighborhood (she has no car and is thus dependent on friends for this transportation).

Mrs. Stanley said that she and other women in the neighborhood are afraid to go out alone at night, so she is also dependent on neighbors (or friends with cars) to attend evening school meetings.

Parent Participation and Leadership. The official parent organization at Deegan is a local school Council (LSC). The principal investigator observed 2 parent meetings at this school. At the first (held in April, 1980), which dealt with the security crisis that involved Mrs. Stanley's daughter, the concerned parents established that not a single meeting of the LSC had been held during the 1979-80 year.

This school has a history of gang violence and black-Latino conflicts within and around the school. While some observers attributed within school conflicts to racial tensions between black and Latino youths (and a reflection of community conflict), several black parents claimed that fights between black students are common, and for this reason did not see racial conflict as the primary cause. All the parents and community participants we interviewed (including a police officer responsible for security outside the school) blamed the principal for permitting the situation to "get out of hand." Some factors mentioned were: inadequate supervision of young and untrained security guards, failure to implement a system to distinguish school personnel, students and strangers, and inadequate student counseling.

The extent of the crisis was made public by the incident involving Mrs. Stanley's daughter. Mrs. Stanley was outraged over the way the principal and police dealt with the incident. The wound was minor, but since the episode occurred when her daughter's class had been dismissed early by a teacher, Mrs. Stanley felt that the principal should have assumed more responsibility and expressed more concern.

"If the teacher hadn't dismissed the class, my daughter would have been in school. They tried to make out that Jennifer was the problem instead of the victim," she said. This treatment prompted Mrs. Stanley to seek support from several sources: a city level advocacy organization, a neighborhood organization, a state assemblyman, and friends. Following advice from these people, she made a statement at an open school board meeting, contacted press and TV and began to work with a group of Latino parents who had started to organize around the security problems in December.

When Mrs. Stanley first discussed the incident with the principal, she wanted him to call a meeting of the parent council to discuss the problem. He told her: "There is no parent council at this school." A couple of days later, Mrs. Stanley heard about a meeting of Latino parents which she attended with a few other black parents. The black parents were angry because they had not been invited to the meeting and only found out about it by accident. They learned later that the meeting was the result of the pressure of the Latino parents who had also been told by the principal that there was no parent organization at Deegan. According to a teacher, most of the Latino parents could barely speak English. "In desparation," she reported, "they contacted a city level Latino advocacy group." A member of that organization called the central Board of Education and the principal was told by an official to have a parent meeting."

A second meeting was called, in April, in response to pressure from the black parents (few Latino parents attended this meeting). Both meetings were dominated by the district superintendent who, in the teacher's view, "did not give the parents a chance" and blamed them for the problem, stating: "If you parents had done your job we would not have these problems in the school."

"For the third meeting," continued the teacher, "Mrs. Farmer is brought out of the woodwork and she gives them the same business . . . I'd be pretty disgusted if I were a parent in this school. I wouldn't sit there and let them get away with that." Mrs. Farmer was the president of the LSC who had been elected in the spring of 1979. She blamed the parents for not getting "involved until there's a crisis."

We observed the third meeting at which the Latino parents were represented by Rev. Garcia, a bilingual minister with a parish near the school. By this time, the Latino and black parents were working together and had drafted a list of demands for improvements in school security.

Responses to questions raised by Rev. Garcia and Mrs. Stanley established that Mrs. Farmer was an employee of the school, that no parent meetings had been called and that no information had been sent to parents until the second meeting on the security issue. Mrs. Farmer denied that her dual role was a conflict of interest and accused the parents of being a "political faction."

These responses, in addition to Mrs. Farmer's inability to answer questions about school security (she kept saying she could not answer the questions), angered and frustrated the parents even more than they had been at the beginning.

Finally, Sergeant Kelly, from the police precinct responsible for security outside the school (who had been observing the meeting up to this point), got up and asked Mrs. Farmer to sit down so he could answer some questions.

"It's no wonder your children have problems," Sergeant Kelly began. "You people are acting like children. We've been here for almost 2 hours and you haven't accomplished a thing." He spent another 10 minutes blaming the parents for the problems.

The minute Sergeant Kelly stopped speaking, Mrs. Stanley stood up and said:

"We parents are not going to sit here and allow you to talk to us like this. You people accuse us of acting like children. Well, I'm accusing you of acting like dictators. We came here to discuss our concerns about the security problems in this school and get answers to our questions. Mrs. Farmer obviously has no answers. We consider Mr. Blanton (the principal) as the person responsible for what goes on in this school and we think that he should give us the answers."

Mr. Blanton then got up and discussed the situation with the parents. A few days later, in response to Mrs. Stanley's statement at the School Board meeting, the parents were invited to a meeting at board headquarters. That meeting was conducted by a Deputy Superintendent who listened to the parents concerns. (Before the meeting this official had visited the school and talked with personnel involved with security.) She told the parents that she had found no problems when she visited the school. Nevertheless, she outlined several steps to be taken by Mr. Blanton. Among other things, Mr. Blanton was directed to reconstitute a new parent council and send written notices to all parents about this event.

A new parent council was formed early in May. (Parents received the notice one day before the meeting.) Mrs. Stanley was elected president, and the other officers were Latinos. According to the teacher, there were about 100 Latino parents at the first meeting and about 200 black parents at the second meeting. We observed approximately 150 parents at the third meeting. There were 16 parents at the meeting to reconstitute the parent council: 4 were black and 12 Latino. Rev. Garcia had invited black parents to participate in a meeting to plan the elections, but only Mrs. Stanley showed up. A second planning meeting was held at the church in Mrs. Stanley's neighborhood (the meeting was announced at the previous Sunday service). Mrs. Stanley and one other parent attended.

The teacher's explanation for the small attendance at the meeting to elect the council was that most parents had been "totally turned off" by the way they had been treated at the 3 previous meetings. "That's how they control parents," she said. Other observers suggested that it's easier to activate parents when there's a crisis. By the time the election was held, the principal had instituted the changes directed by the deputy superintendent, "things had cooled down," including parental anxiety.

Given the fact that Mrs. Stanley had contacted a city level and community based organization immediately after her daughter was shot, and that this episode had activated an estimated 200 black parents, we anticipated that she would have been able to recruit a sizeable group to participate in the election, certainly as many as were recruited by the Latinos. This expectation was reinforced by the reports of previous parent/community participation at Deegan in the early 1970s. Our interviews suggest that the principal's resistance to parent participation may have been influenced by the earlier conflicts at Deegan.

Mrs. Patterson, a mother who organized Deegan parents in the early 1970s has become a legend among those familiar with Chicago school politics. She was a charismatic personality whose potential was recognized by a community organization that had funds to train community leaders in the late 1960s. She then came to the attention of the district superintendent who said he gave her several paraprofessional jobs at Deegan so that she could develop a "power base."

Mrs. Patterson was a key figure in the resolution of conflicts involving overcrowding, student riots and a "racist" principal. When the principal was transferred (in 1972), Deegan was run, for one year, by a council made up of teachers, students, parents and administrators. According to community informants sympathetic to Mrs. Patterson, she was good at mobilizing parents and getting them to do things. But she did not delegate responsibility or train others to assume leadership.

According to the teacher informant, Mrs. Patterson was responsible for creating tensions between parents and teachers. The teacher described Mrs. Patterson as "loud, rude and insulting. She would come into the school and yell at teachers. She could intimidate people because she had the backing of the district superintendent. But she lost her staff support when the superintendent left because the new principal (who arrived in 1973) didn't want her."

The parent organization died when Mrs. Patterson died (around 1975) and most of the parents she worked with no longer have children in the school, according to the teacher's account.

Community Resources. Mrs. Stanley identified 4 groups that provide resources for parents: a Democratic ward office with an educational task force, a community council, a concerned citizens organization and a block club. The task force informs parents about financial aide for students and assists parents in applying for funds. It lobbies for state school aid funds. In connection with student disruption at Deegan, a state legislator was trying to obtain funds for a peer counseling program. The legislator also attended school meetings with parents.

The director of the community council called the Board of Education and set up the meeting with a deputy superintendent. The director also advised Mrs. Stanley on how to prepare her statement for the public participation segment of a school board meeting.

The concerned citizens group assists parents in locating community resources. One member of this group helped parents file a suit against a teacher who had forced a student to eat soap and was instrumental in removing a principal who had molested young boys. The block club also makes parents aware of their rights and the legal steps they can take to protect their children.

In Mrs. Stanley's opinion, there are adequate resources for parents in the community of Greenfield. She concluded:

"The problem is the schools that do not want involvement from community groups and parents. Relations between the community and the school are not good because of the attitudes of school administrators and because most parents in the neighborhood are not knowledgeable enough to know that it is their right to become involved in school issues in spite of the lack of cooperation from the school administration."

The professional researcher also identified 4 community organizations: a parent-child center, a community action organization, a boys' club and a YMCA. The parent child center runs an early childhood development program that instructs parents in basic education principles and the parents' role and responsibility in helping children to learn and grow. The program is designed to prepare parents for "active and productive public school involvement" but there is no organizing around public school issues.

Although the community action organization provides a forum and manpower to deal with concerns brought by local residents, the education component was not active in the Deegan area.

The boys' club was described as a Deegan "outpost." It is located near the school and is primarily a service organization that offers after school tutoring and non-traditional counseling by a "hip streetworker." Similar services are provided by the YMCA. These organizations are staffed by professionals and there is no parent participation in them.

"Greenfield is barren, as far as organized educational efforts are concerned," concluded the researcher. "There is general pessimism about what is possible here . . . It seems that since Mrs. Patterson's heyday, not much systematic action has been generated . . . The unfortunate thing, and this is not peculiar to this area, is that dynamic people, such as Mrs. Patterson, could not give time to the process and substance of change at the same time. They are able to recognize, through vision, what the system should look like and the role parents should have. But the issues and conflicts at hand demanded immediate remedies and actions appropriate to these remedies. Little time was ever found to go back, learn and train to avoid such pitfalls in the future. Consequently, few persons outside a small circle of people, ever learned what they needed to know to step in when the leader left the scene."

2. THE MARSHALL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Respondents. At this site, 8 parents and the principal were interviewed by Mrs. Crowley, a parent whose son was enrolled in the second grade. Mrs. Crowley represented Marshall parents on the School Committee, a community organization that includes representatives from schools throughout the community. The principal investigator interviewed Mrs. Crowley, the PTA vice president and 4 residents active in the School Committee and other groups. A professional researcher interviewed 6 additional residents and organization members.

The School Environment. Marshall is located at the edge of Fernwood Park, one of Chicago's few integrated communities. Our city level informants described Fernwood Park as having the highest levels of parent participation and a large proportion of educated professional black families. We were told that a lot of teachers live in Fernwood Park. Fernwood Park is also regarded as one of the most organized communities in Chicago and includes the School Committee which is concerned exclusively with school issues. Marshall was selected with the expectation that we would find an integrated student enrollment and parent participation in the financial crisis. We found, however, that the students are 99% black and there was no evidence of efforts to mobilize around the crisis.

The school and playgrounds take up an entire block which is immediately surrounded by institutional facilities (2 health centers) and a parking lot for school employees. Outside of 2 small playgrounds, there are no public facilities that would attract parents with young children within a 3-block radius of the school. About a half-dozen small shops are located on one street adjacent to the school, but the remaining blocks consist primarily of older multiple dwelling units, mostly 3 or 6-flats. Streets are clean and the lawns bordering the smaller housing units are well-kept (for the most part).

Because of its location at the edge of Fernwood Park, most parents whose children attend Marshall would have to travel by car or public transportation in order to use the many shopping, cultural and organizational facilities available in the community. Therefore, we rate the immediate area around the school as low in terms of institutional and commercial interaction settings.

Parent Participation and Leadership. The parent organization at Marshall is a PTA. We found no evidence to support informants' predictions that Marshall parents would be active in school affairs. Mrs. Crowley said that she had tried to get the PTA president to hold a meeting to discuss the financial crisis, which had caused the elimination of the school's band and a remedial reading program, but the president saw "no point" in it since the school was represented in the School Committee. The principal investigator observed one meeting of the School Committee where parents talked about organizing to protest the School Financial Authority (a 5 person body established by the Illinois General Assembly to oversee the implementation of the bail-out plan enacted by the Assembly) but the protest did not materialize. Instead, some members of the School Committee concentrated on saving the job of the district superintendent and a few programs at some schools (not including Marshall). Mrs. Crowley was not involved in those efforts.

The Marshall PTA president and vice president, Mrs. Washington, refused to be interviewed for this study by Mrs. Crowley. Mrs. Washington also refused to be interviewed by the principal investigator (these were the only parent refusals encountered in the study), but then proceeded to talk at length about her views on parent participation.

According to Mrs. Crowley, PTA leaders are inhibiting parent participation at Marshall. She described the PTA as a "small clique who want to keep things to themselves" and resent the intrusion of newcomers. Mrs. Crowley felt that neither the PTA or the school made a sufficient effort to involve parents in what was going on in relation to the financial crisis. The principal told her that it was up to the PTA to deal with the issues. Parents interviewed by Mrs. Crowley thought highly of the principal and most of the teachers.

Three of the 9 parents said they perceived "serious problems" at Marshall. These included:

"Teachers not really teaching"
"Not enough discipline"
"Mismanagement and racism"

But the parents said they were not doing anything about these problems.

Since our sample is not representative, we have no way to determine the extent to which these perceptions are shared by other Marshall parents.

Based on our discussion with Mrs. Washington, we were inclined to accept Mrs. Crowley's opinion that parent leaders were part of the problem. However, the PTA president's involvement in the financial crisis was curtailed by the illness and death of her husband shortly after the crisis erupted and she was forced to withdraw from school affairs. Still, there was little evidence of PTA activity prior to this. We asked Mrs. Washington for the PTA schedule so that we could observe a meeting at Marshall, but she said there were no plans to hold any meetings for the rest of the year (the request was made in April) and invited us to a meeting of the School Committee. We then requested a copy of the school parent newsletter and learned that none had been sent out because "we've been too busy with other things." The PTA, in Mrs. Washington's view, was not responsible for providing information on the financial crisis. She said:

"If parents don't know what's going on, it's their own fault. The newspapers have had headlines on the crisis for months." This and similar statements indicate her assumption that it's up to parents to keep track of events on their own and become active on their own initiative.

Mrs. Washington's views were not shared by a leader of the Chicago Region PTA who attributed Marshall's low level of parent participation to the school's program and the type of parent it attracted. "Marshall has no special programs that would attract more educated parents who would probably be more active," said the leader. "It's just a couple of blocks away from the Greene school which is integrated and has all sorts of special programs and innovations--partly because it's eligible for federal and state Title I funds. Marshall families are mostly working class and the school doesn't qualify for funds." This informant also pointed out that there are several private and free alternative schools in Fernwood that would appeal to parents with "high" interest in education.

A member of the School Committee who is president of another public school in Fernwood Park said that if there was a serious crisis she was sure that Marshall parents could be mobilized. Another explanation for the low level of parent participation at Marshall could be parents' inability to perceive the seriousness of the financial crisis.

Community Resources. The 6 community informants mentioned 25 organizations that provide services for families with young children, in addition to churches, a museum and a public library. The services included health and day care, recreation, education centers and several privately run alternative school programs.

The following comments were made by the researcher:

"The resources for youth and parents are extensive in the Fernwood Park community. However, there are not that many on-going groups that focus exclusively on education problems. This community's strong points are the institutional resources available for the asking, a wide variety of bright, energetic, liberal thinking individuals who gravitate to such resources as residents, and wide diversity of formal groups these individuals generate to accommodate their needs.

"The institutional resources range from economic, social (multi-service health and welfare agencies), educational (large, influential university and public and private schools), cultural and religious. The striking thing about education in this time is that, even these [illegible] attractions, which in other decades nearly guaranteed high quality school performance to those who attended, are having less direct impact on schooling than in former years. Schools in this area are certainly somewhat better, in terms of performance, but the differences are not as significant as in the past. At least this is the opinion of educators who have access to board of education records, with whom I have spoken.

"Those individuals from all racial and economic classes who populate this area have seen the public schools lose ground in the face of their most resourceful and creative attempts to have the situation otherwise. A disproportionate number of parents, mostly middle class and largely white but not exclusively, have been working with government program dollars to bring in private and public learning alternatives for their children. Many younger parents have banded together to develop and subsidize day care and tutorial programs. They are hiring teachers, making policy and in many cases managing and administering school programs.

"This community is unique and parents are learning skills useful when at some later date they may have to relate to the public alternative. Unfortunately, even here in Fernwood Park, with the many programs for youth and parents, there is little organizing for empowerment. There is a sense that pervades the conversation of parents, community activists and professionals working in various resource programs that the public schools are a lost cause. The mindset continues that all one can hope for is to try and resist further erosion. The issues are: shrinking program dollars, program cutbacks, quality teachers, discipline, and remedial programs. Most of the respondents from the private situation do not even see the public schools as a viable alternative."

3. THE POLINSKY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Respondents. Nine parents were interviewed by Mrs. Angela Diaz who was identified as a former Polinsky PTA president and current officer of Freemont Neighbors, a Mexican community organization with a history of involvement in school issues. The principal investigator interviewed Mrs. Diaz, a school community representative employed at Polinsky, a former parent leader and 5 informants familiar with the Freemont community.

When Mrs. Diaz and other Polinsky parents became involved in problems at Claremont (another elementary school in Freemont), we interviewed the principal, a parent leader, a teacher and an organizer from Freemont Neighbors about the vents. (Total interviewed: 22)

We observed 2 parent meetings held at Freemont Neighbors and a mass meeting held at a neighborhood church (to promote the selection of Latino school board members). We also toured the Claremont School with a group of engineers from the Board of Education, parents and the principal, and attended a parent council meeting at Claremont.

The School Environment. Polinsky is located on a major thoroughfare in Freemont, the oldest Mexican community in Chicago. There are no public institutional facilities in the 3-block radius of the school. Many blocks include commercial enterprises that would attract families (small grocery stores, laundromats, lunchonettes, clothing and furniture shops, etc.) and churches.

Freemont is the most picturesque neighborhood included in this study. Since it was not destroyed by the famous Chicago fire, many of the buildings are very old. There are several blocks that are entirely residential with 1 and 2 family units. On these blocks the exteriors are well maintained, and streets are much cleaner than those with commercial establishments and apartment houses. Murals decorate a stone wall that bounds the northern edge of Freemont and the walls around some private agencies such as day care centers and churches.

The exterior of Polinsky and its immediate environment present a dramatic contrast when compared to the above. Although the interior of the school was renovated in the early 1970s, little was done to improve the outside, where mobile units take up almost all the playground space. (These units were erected to reduce overcrowding but are no longer needed for classrooms and only a few are currently in use for administrative purposes.) The houses facing the front of the school are in need of repairs and paint. On the day of our tour, an alley at the back of the school was filled with garbage from over-turned pails and torn plastic bags and it looked like there had been no garbage collection for several days.

On every visit to Freemont, we have observed children playing on the sidewalk, mothers and fathers chatting nearby, homeowners or workmen repairing houses and other indicators of a vital community. One informant described Freemont as a setting where Mexicans have been able to develop and maintain a "natural community." Many of the original settlers have bought homes in the community.

On the basis of the above evidence, we have rated the neighborhood around Polinsky as high in informal or non-institutionalized interaction settings.

Parent Participation and Leadership. Parents active in Freemont Neighbors appear to be primarily Polinsky parents who were trained by Carmen Garcia, the school's community representative who became active in Freemont Neighbors in the 1960s.

There are 3 parent councils at this school: an LSC, a PTA and a bilingual PAC. A core group of about 6 mothers is active in all 3 councils and Freemont Neighbors. Mrs. Garcia said that when she first began working at Polinsky few parents were involved, "maybe because of the language." After she arrived, parents started coming to Mrs. Garcia with their problems with teachers.

"Little by little, I encouraged them to join the councils and be active. The meetings are now conducted in Spanish, and they are well informed," Mrs. Garcia said. From 15 to 30 parents usually attend an average meeting but in a crisis about 100 will show up. The LSC is the decision-making body and the PTA coordinates the 3 councils.

Some of the decisions in which parents have participated include the rehabbing of the school building, discipline and classroom problems.

A current concern of Polinsky parents, according to Mrs. Diaz, is the evaluation of teachers. "We know we have incompetent teachers at Polinsky. Parents are working in a professional standards committee set up with the district superintendent and the former principal, for the purpose of discussing and putting on the table the things teachers should do and give them an idea of how they will be rated. Parents have been working on this with teachers and administrators for 2 years."

Discussion of the committee's recommendations has been held up by a new principal who has been at Polinsky for only one year. There are 2 to 3 Latino teachers who live in Fremont who are allied with the parents. At first the new principal, who was not aware that the district superintendent had endorsed the parents involvement in teacher evaluation, resisted the parents activities, but "she is gradually coming around to our point of view," said Mrs. Diaz.

We asked Mrs. Diaz about her strategies to mobilize parents. "It's mainly my ability to develop trust," she said. "The administrators pay attention to me because they know I have hundreds of parents behind me. The parents trust me because I listen to them and we work things out together. My theory is that if half the people in the group don't agree on a strategy, you shouldn't do it. We're all at different levels of learning and growth." Mrs. Diaz disagrees with the strategies advocated by some of the paid organizers working at Freemont Neighbors.

"The organizers are young men who see things differently than the mothers," said Mrs. Diaz. To illustrate her point she described an incident when about 200 Freemont residents, mostly mothers and children, went to see the mayor to talk about the selection of school board members. They were mobilized by Freemont Neighbors. The parents elected Mrs. Diaz to speak for the group. The mayor said she would not meet with the parents but invited the children into her office. The mothers were happy because the mayor came out to speak to them, was nice to the children and gave them candy. But the organizers criticized the parents and, according to Mrs. Diaz, "made them feel guilty. I had seen the mayor before, but this was the first time for the other women. They are simple, peasant women and they were pleased that she had let the children see her office. I thought the organizers were playing around with their feelings and told them that they should not make the mothers feel guilty."

Another argument between Mrs. Diaz and the organizers occurred over the strategy to get action on problems at the Claremont School (described below). "We wanted to invite the superintendent to a meeting at Freemont Neighbors. We thought we'd serve food, have a little talk about our needs and afterwards go to Claremont to show the superintendent what we were talking about. The organizers believe in putting someone in a room and throwing darts at them. They said she should just go to Claremont, we should not feed her--they don't believe in that. I haven't had a call from the organizers since that day and they used to call me all the time. They are not performing their role according to theory--they should not fight with parents. They should point out alternatives and consequences. I think they are trying to compete with me because I was the key person who got things going at Claremont."

Claremont is probably one of the oldest and most deteriorated schools in Chicago. Freemont Neighbors had been concerned about the school for several years but had been unable to locate a parent whose children were enrolled in the school. The principal had not activated a parent council.

The problems at Claremont that concerned parents and community reflected neglect as well as age. There were toilets that did not work in the boys' bathroom where the smell of urine was "overpowering and sickening." There were no sinks in the boys' bathrooms and no toilet paper in any of the bathrooms. Teachers' requests to repair broken windows were ignored. In several classrooms the broken windows were boarded up (teachers had nailed bulletin boards and pieces of wood to the frames). The day Claremont was inspected by engineers from Board headquarters, teachers came out of their classes to remind the parents to point out the broken windows. Some classrooms and hall floors looked as if they had not been washed for months (a teacher in one classroom said the floor had not been washed in the 3 months she had been in the school). Window shades were filthy and most were torn. Lighting, throughout the building, was inadequate--particularly in the library, where it would have been impossible for students at some tables to read.

Many children refused to eat the lunches provided by the school. Latino teachers working at Claremont said the menus were inappropriate for Mexican children because it was "tasteless" compared to what they were served at home. Some mothers who inspected the food said the meat smelled "rotten" and the fruit was overripe--they wouldn't want to eat it either.

In February, 1980, Freemont Neighbors decided to do something about Claremont. Mrs. Diaz spoke to the principal and convinced him to call a meeting to set up a parent council and deal with the school's conditions.

One of the parents who attended the first meeting and participated in the discussion was Mrs. Carmen Sanchez. This was Mrs. Sanchez first school meeting. She had asked the principal about a parent council when she first enrolled her daughter in Claremont, but he told her there was none. At the second meeting

Mrs. Sanchez was elected president of the council. Since then she has been working with a few parents at Claremont and the parents and organizers from Freemont Neighbors to get the superintendent to make a commitment about renovating the school. Although the engineers inspected Claremont in March, the parents were still waiting for a decision from central administrators in June. A decision to spend $150,000 on new plumbing, window repairs, new lighting and painting was reached after 2 newly appointed Latino board members intervened on behalf of Freemont Neighbors.

Mrs. Diaz and her husband were born in Mexico. Their families were migrant workers in Texas. They did not complete high school. They decided to settle in Chicago so that their children would be educated and have a more stable family life. Mrs. Diaz has 6 children ranging in age from 6 months to 20 years. Her involvement in school issues began about 8 years ago when her oldest son was suspended from school. Her investigation of the issue disclosed numerous problems at the school and the realization that she "had to be involved." She has continued to be active at the same time that she completed high school and began a college program. She works 2 days a week. A local TV station is currently making a documentary film on the Diaz family and the Freemont community.

Mrs. Sanchez was born in Chicago but her parents came from Mexico. She is bilingual, completed high school, has one child and is an unemployed single (divorced) parent.

Community Resources. According to our parent informants, Freemont Neighbors is the only organization with education related resources for parents. Members of this organization have many ties to other Mexican-American organizations in the area and these are activated in a school-related crisis.

Freemont Neighbors was started in the early 1960s to help new arrivals from Mexico and to work on community improvements. The organization did not become effective until the late 1960s when 2 Jesuit priests (who lived in Freemont) were assigned to the organization to provide training in leadership and problem solving. The group's first involvement with the schools, in response to parent requests, was around problems at the neighborhood high school.

Traditional negotiating strategies (meetings with central board administrators, petitions, statements at school board meetings, and demonstrations) proved fruitless.

"They kept telling us they were 'looking into' things but never did anything. After one year of playing by their rules, we realized that the system didn't work for Latinos. That's when we decided to take things into our own hands. We staged a 'sit in' at the school and refused to leave unless the school board and superintendent came down to negotiate with us personally," revealed a former parent leader who participated in this episode.

"Everything was very carefully planned so there would be no violence. We even told the police about our plans and asked them to be sure to send bilingual officers who could communicate with the parents."

The Board finally agreed to build a new high school in the neighborhood, let the parents participate in committees to select the architect (a Mexican), name the school, and plan new programs. Administrators balked when the parents demanded a say in teacher assignments. So the parents gave the principal a list of teachers "totally" unacceptable to them and warned that if any were assigned to the new school they would be "thrown out." Not a single one of the teachers on the list was assigned to the new school.

Mexican-Americans run most of the commercial enterprises in Freemont and have established their own chamber of commerce. Businessmen affiliated with this group contribute food and other supplies for festivals run by parents at local schools. Churches are a major institutional resource. (Plans to mobilize demands for the selection of Latino school board members were presented to the community at a meeting at a local church. About 400 people attended the meeting.) Our interviews suggest that many of the parents active in school affairs are also active in these religious organizations.

Mexicans in Freemont have no influence in local ward politics. They are just beginning to develop influence in city politics.

Above and beyond organizational resources and parent leadership, are the attitudes expressed by the parent leaders which reflect a strong sense of group identity and pride, attachment to the community and commitment to education.

"Mexicans are a very proud and independent people," Mrs. Diaz told us. "We are not looking for handouts. Our children are trained to respect teachers and other adults. We don't want them going into schools where our values and homes are not respected.

The parents we interviewed in Freemont are optimistic about their ability to influence their children's education in spite of the resistance of administrators.

4. THE HARRISON SCHOOL

Harrison was a high school until the early 1970s. It was selected on the basis of several reports that there had been high levels of Latino parent-community involvement in the early 1970s and little evidence of parent participation at the time of this study. Since parents had played an active role in the transfer of a principal and the construction of a new neighborhood high school, it looked like a good site to compare with Freemont where Latino parent participation was sustained.

After the new high school opened, in 1975, Harrison was converted to a combination elementary and middle school. The current enrollment is two-thirds Puerto Rican. The remaining students are black, Oriental and a small group of whites from older ethnic groups. The elementary school has a K-6 bilingual program; the middle school includes grades 6 through 8. However, some of these students are older than would normally be enrolled in these grades (there are 17 and 18 year olds from Puerto Rico who had little schooling).

Respondents. Respondents interviewed at this site included 6 parents (including the LSC president), the principal, 2 assistant principals, a parent trainer from a city level agency who grew up in the area, a community agency organizer, and 2 residents active in community organizations and educational issues. Five of the parents were interviewed by a volunteer from a community-based health center. The rest were interviewed by the principal investigator.

The School Environment. Harrison is located on the fringe of Fairview Park, a neighborhood undergoing renewal. Fairview Park is part of a larger predominantly Puerto Rican community known as Middletown. Before the renewal started, Fairview Park was one of the main "ports of entry" for Puerto Ricans whose migration to Chicago began after World War II. At that time the 3-4 block radius around Harrison included small single family dwellings and a "thriving" shopping strip with stores and agencies that served this Puerto Rican community. Since renewal began, most of the small homes in the blocks immediately surrounding Harrison were replaced by large institutional facilities: a hospital, a fire station, a city health department and the new high school. Most of the stores are now boarded up. Better homes in the area were bought and renovated by developers and have been sold to "urban pioneers," mainly middle class professional couples with no children or children enrolled in private schools. There are many blocks with burned out buildings and/or vacant lots filled with rubble and garbage. Several of the shops on the main thoroughfare are empty.

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Harrison is a huge building that takes up an entire block. It looks like a fortress. The day we toured the area, the sidewalk in front of the school was filled with litter (beer cans and food wrappers). There are 11 old and neglected townhouses across from the school. One owner (a Puerto Rican who has lived in Chicago since 1950) said that developers have offered to buy his house but at too low a price. There is a sign above his door that says: "Beware of Owner." Gang fights, sometimes involving shootings, are common in this area.

According to the principal, most of the children enrolled in the bilingual program are from Spanish speaking homes and come from all over the district. Few live close to the school. Middle school students come from various parts of the district—a result of the population changes around the school. He estimated that about 70% of the middle school students are transients.

Because of the land use around the school, population changes, the school enrollment and destruction of the service facilities that formerly were available to Puerto Ricans, the area around Harrison is rated very low in terms of interaction settings.

Parent Participation and Leadership. There are 2 parent councils at Harrison: an LSC and a bilingual PAC. The president of the LSC is a former school employee whose position was eliminated by the financial crisis. The principal, Mr. O'Riley, perceived parents as "more active than you might expect in an area like this." He said about 10 parents attend an average parent council meeting and about a dozen can usually be counted on to volunteer when asked to. Mr. O'Riley writes the school newsletter (but was unable to find a single copy in answer to our request) and notices to parents are sent out by staff. There was some evidence that Mr. O'Riley is community oriented: he intervened in a dispute between residents and the nearby hospital and he has made an attempt to get two local businesses to hire middle school students (after school hours).

Although Harrison lost 17 staff positions as a result of the first round of budget cuts, Mr. O'Riley had seen no effort by parents to mobilize around this issue.

The assistant principal, a Puerto Rican who formerly taught at Harrison, gave 4 reasons for low levels of parent participation: "Most of the students do not come from the area, more parents are working, they have low educational levels and no basis for evaluating the educational program, and a lack of parent leadership. The LSC president is not a leader at all. Staff members and the principal have to prepare the information for parents."

Mr. O'Riley said 10 parents attended a meeting in April to discuss budget cuts (the meeting was mandated by the board). "The parents were not really into the issue. I did not have much information myself so I had to do the best I could to explain it to them. The main issues that parents seem to be concerned with are bilingual staff positions and forced busing--which they are against." There were no community organizations providing training for parents in Mr. O'Riley's view.

A parent trainer assigned to Harrison by a city level agency, who attended the meeting to discuss the cuts, said:

"My impression was that the parents didn't understand what was going on. The council president had no part in the discussion. A staff person wrote the parents' suggestions on the black board but she did not interpret them accurately. Neither the president or a Spanish speaking council secretary spoke up. The principal talked to staff people but not to the parents."

The same patterns were observed at a May meeting of the parent council attended by the principal investigator. There were approximately 50 parents at this meeting and 30 children. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss recommendations for the 1980-81 ESEA program that had been made by 5 parents and staff members at a meeting held that morning. The recommendations were presented by the principal and no parents responded when he asked if there were any questions. Other issues discussed at this meeting were whether to spend money raised by the council on work books (the teachers' recommendation) or to charge a fee; to seek volunteers to work with teachers on a sub-committee to select the work books and volunteers for a committee to help with a luncheon for graduating students in June. Four parents quickly volunteered for each committee.

At this May meeting, the parent trainer explained (in Spanish) the issues behind the financial crisis and budget cuts. He also asked for questions but there were none. The parents agreed that future meetings should be held in the evening since it was easier for more parents to attend at that time. It was agreed that the meeting scheduled for June should be cancelled.

The meeting was held in a small auditorium where the seat arrangement was not conducive to interaction between parents (the seats were bolted to the floor and all facing the front of the room). It was scheduled for 7 p.m. but did not begin until 7:30 when there were 35 parents present. Most of the parents apparently did not know each other--they sat by themselves or with other family members and did nothing until the meeting began. The LSC president did not seem to know many parents and did not introduce herself to the parents as they came in. No written

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materials were circulated and there was no agenda. Refreshments were served when the business was concluded. There was some exchange between a few teachers and parents but the principal interacted with staff members. (It was reported that he does not speak Spanish.)

The assistant principal represents the school on a district educational council. He said that there was strong parent leadership at that level ("a black women who promotes the interests of all minorities") but the council is dominated by the district superintendent, who he also saw as dominating the principal. The A.P. said: "Mr. O'Riley has potential, but he is young and inexperienced--he has no authority and just follows the district superintendent's orders. Most of the principals I've worked for are afraid to challenge top administrators."

The parent trainer had observed several meetings of the district level bilingual advisory committee. He did not perceive this structure as capable of developing parent leadership among Latino parents:

"There seems to be no continuity in the council and its function is not clear," he said. "Each time I've attended there are different parents. Board of Education personnel are responsible for coordinating the district meetings but it's not clear to them what the council is supposed to do." In addition, he mentioned that the parent president of the district council had not attended the last 3 meetings since she had gone to Mexico to visit her family.

We made several unsuccessful attempts to locate an informant who had been active in the earlier conflict to oust the principal and build the new high school. It was reported that the principal activists are no longer in the community.

Community Resources. We were given a list of 22 organizations with resources for families in the Middletown area, including Fairview Park. Only one local informant perceived any of these organizations as a resource for parents who might want to mobilize around school issues. This organization was the only one visibly involved in school issues at the time of our study.

All other informants blamed urban renewal and professionally staffed agencies for fragmenting the community around Fairview and promoting dependency. As one respondent put it: "Many people assume that parents have no resources. So they contribute funds to operate agencies to train parents and the agencies become the obstacle."

There is, said another respondent, "no structure in the community to get parents involved in school issues and a lack of motivation. At the city level professionals define the problems and undermine volunteerism by paying parents to participate in training workshops. The main concerns relate to bilingual programs where the primary objective is to maintain bilingual personnel and get parents to legitimate the programs. I don't see bilingual education as a parent-generated issue." This respondent perceived city level agencies as promoting dependency by fostering the idea that parents need a formal structure and professionals to organize their activities.

At the local level, there is no organization comparable to Freemont Neighbors to sustain the parent participation that emerged around the high school issue. Professionals who run the existing agencies were described as having "no stake in the neighborhood system" since they live outside of the community.

City level informants who have no first-hand experience in Fairview or Middletown mentioned the Middletown Coalition as a viable community-based organization with resources for parents. However, only one community-based informant agreed with that view (the assistant principal). The others criticized the Coalition and other organizations for the reasons cited above. To substantiate his negative opinion of the Middletown Coalition, the parent trainer described an effort to develop a city-level Latino Coalition by Freemont Neighbors and the Middletown Coalition.

"The first meeting," he said, "was spectacular. The goal was to mobilize opposition to desegregation. There must have been at least 200 parents from the Middletown area. They were brought to Freemont in buses by the Middletown Coalition. At the second meeting the parents were all from Freemont." This indicated the inability of the Middletown Coalition to develop parent leadership, according to this observer.

5. THE SEELEY SCHOOL

This school was selected to explore the participation of Latino parents in a multi-ethnic community where their children would be a minority (numerically) at the school level. In 1979-80, one-third of Seeley's students were Puerto Rican. The rest were from white ethnic groups, blacks and other Spanish speaking groups. Reports that Puerto Ricans dominated protests to get the Board of Education to build a new school (in the late 1960s and early 1970s), suggested that this site could be compared with Freemont and Harrison.

Respondents. Fourteen interviews were conducted at this site by a researcher, a former bilingual staff member of a parent child center located near the school. Respondents included 8 Latino parents, the principal, a teacher and 4 staff members of community agencies. The principal investigator interviewed the LSC president and observed an LSC meeting in April.

The School Environment. The immediate area around Seeley is rated high in terms of interaction settings for families with young children. The school is situated about half a block from a shopping strip. There are 2 commercial enterprises that would attract families: a laundromat and an inexpensive restaurant, on the same block as the school. Across the street is a recreation center run by the park district that includes playgrounds and ball fields, and an alternative school for Spanish speaking children. A bilingual settlement house and day care center, housed in buildings owned by a religious organization, are located on a block west of the school.

Seeley is in the center of "Eastview" whose population includes middle class, working class and poor residents (multi-ethnic). A high rent section, dominated by high rise apartments that were converted to condominiums, is separated from the more modest single family units and 3 flats, as well as the remaining poverty "pockets," by the shopping strip. Before it was slated for "gentrification," Eastview was another port of entry for Puerto Ricans. Their efforts to develop a viable community were disrupted by the renewal program.

In recent years, most of the dwellings occupied by Puerto Ricans have been bought by developers and renovated. The Puerto Ricans cannot afford the high rents.

Parent Participation and Leadership. Few parents are active at Seeley. Two parents attended a March LSC meeting; about 12 came to an April meeting. At one time the school had both a PTA and an LSC. The former was abolished because the same parents were active in both groups. LSC meetings are held at 9:30 on the second Tuesday of each month. The president is an Anglo who says she spends "most" of her time at the school. She is not active at the high school attended by her older children because "I refuse to go out of the neighborhood for meetings."

Another parent officer is a father born in Guatemala who has 6 children at Seeley. He is a former Seeley employee who was recently transferred to another school.

The researcher knew many of the Seeley parents whose children participated in the church-operated day care center when she worked there. At that time the parents developed a friendship circle and received some training to prepare them to play an active role in their children's schooling. For these reasons, the researcher expected to find that the parents had developed a network at Seeley and would be playing an active role in school affairs. However, none of the parents she had known earlier is currently active at Seeley--they have either gone to work or moved away.

There was no evidence of parent involvement in the financial crisis at this school. The researcher gave 4 reasons for this lack among Latino parents:

1. Lack of local community leadership

2. Lack of a serious problem

3. A good principal

4. The gentrification of the community and disintegration of the Latino community

5. Active parents relate more to city level than to local groups

The fight for a new school was initiated by parents, but spearheaded by a Puerto Rican minister affiliated with the church-run day care center. The decision to build the new school followed the threat of a massive demonstration by community organizations mobilized by the minister and the Citizens School coalition that included the Eastview area. The minister is no longer in the community and since the school battle, no one is playing a similar role for the Latino community. The Citizens coalition disbanded in 1979.

The principal said that the struggle over the new school, which lasted 5 years, was supported by him and an alderman (no longer in this position). Once the School Board approved the new school, the principal asked for parent, teacher and even student participation in the plans. The architect's plan was approved by parents. Parents also helped in the transition to the new building.

The new facilities are excellent, the school has a highly regarded bilingual program and all the parents we interviewed perceived the principal as a supportive person. Only one parent perceived a problem at Seeley: "fights on the playground." She is doing nothing about it because "it would create friction with the parents whose children are to blame."

All the parents who said they perceived an organization that might help parents mentioned city level structures: 2 Latino voluntary organizations that provide training and information for parents and a city level multilingual council run by the Board of Education.

In 1978, one of the Latino organizations and the Citizen's School Coalition offered to train Seeley parents. The parents voted to work with the Latino organization which gave a 6-week course in leadership. The principal and bilingual coordinator were "helpful" in setting up the program. A few weeks after the training, the coordinator was transferred to another school.

The parents, who were upset by this transfer, turned to the city level trainer for help. They wrote letters to the Board of Education and demanded a meeting with the (then) sole Latino board member. The Board member met with the parents at the school. Two hundred parents signed a petition and kept pressure on the Board until the coordinator was returned to Seeley.

A mother employed in Seeley's cafeteria, appears to be the informal leader for Latino parents at this school. She is a member of the city miltilingual council, knows most of the Latino parents and has access to most of the teachers at Seeley. She is described as making it her business to befriend new migrant families. All 8 parents, even 2 who had just moved to the neighborhood from Guatemala, mentioned that they would turn to this woman for information and/or support.

"If there was a problem at Seeley," concluded the researcher, "I'm sure this woman would hear about it and get the word out to parents in no time at all."

Community Resources. Fourteen organizations were mentioned as providing resources for parents. Those currently active in educational issues are a district level educational council, 2 city level Latino groups, the Board's multilingual council, the church center, a day care center and an educational resource center.

Parents from Seeley were not active in the district educational council. The 2 city level organizations provide advocacy and services for Latino parents and their children. One of these organizations provided training and technical assistance to Seeley. The major drawback with these organizations is that the trainers do not live in the neighborhood and the organizations do not have staff to provide sufficient follow up.

The multilingual council includes parents from the entire city and sponsor meetings and conferences on a city-wide basis. Seeley parents participate in the conferences.

Leaders from 3 Latino organizations work together.

The church center and day care center are next door to one another. Parents often move their children from one program to another. The first provides an after school tutoring program, family counseling, ESL classes and some community organizing. The new director is interested in building a community group and forming a group around school problems. However, her staff is small.

The day care center serves children from 3 to 5 years old. It maintains an after school recreational and tutoring program for 6-11 year olds. Support services include psychological counseling, parent meetings, field trips, and liaison with the schools.

Staff from these 2 organizations often work together around individual family problems. They also develop links with school staff around individual problems and will ask school personnel to set up conferences with teachers, the principal and parent when needed.

The education resource center offers arts and crafts programs and creative instructional materials for classroom teachers. This organization responded to a January teachers strike by organizing an alternative school program. The recreation center across from Seeley offered to house classes for Seeley students. The resource center became the clearing house where parents registered children. They were asked to pay $3 per day per child but arrangements could be made for those who could not afford the fee. However, few parents in this category showed up. No special outreach was done in Spanish and only a few Latino children attended.

The community resources, both cith level and neighborhood based were mentioned by informants who worked in the neighborhood. It is interesting to note that the only organizations known to the Latino parents from Seeley (who participated in this study) were the city level Latino groups and the multilingual council. Some parents who were involved in the day care parent council knew nothing about the Seeley parent council even though the Latino officer of the latter is a parent active at the day care center.

The researcher's notes suggest that the fragmentation of local groups from the perspective of Latino parents, probably results from the professional's individual and service oriented approach as well as limited resources to promote community development. A majority of the community based services are designed to serve the community at large and have not developed appropriate techniques to serve Latinos--such as Spanish-English promotional materials and Spanish speaking staff members. The city level organizations thus appear to be the most effective resources available to Latinos in this area at the present time.

C. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The events described in the preceding section document that inner city poor and minority parents have the same concerns about their children's schooling as middle class suburban parents. When faced with conditons that threaten their children's welfare, individual parents in both contexts have initiated actions to mobilize other parents. The parents who played primary roles in the Chicago school conflicts have 3 things in common with the parents who started the Eastport groups:

1. Their participation was motivated by a threat to their own child's welfare

2. Once they decided to do something about the issue they refused to give up

3. They knew few people who they could turn to for support when they began to work on the issue

In 2 of the Chicago neighborhoods we found parents mobilized around specific issues. At Polinsky, the predominantly Mexican school, the development of sustained parent leadership was associated with a school community representative who trained parents and linked them to an established independent community organization which has been mobilizing parents around school issues since the early 1970s. At Deegan, a new group was in the process of mobilizing around a crisis but there was no evidence of leadership continuity between these parents and a parent group that had organized around similar concerns in the early 1970s. At the schools with large Puerto Rican enrollments, Harrison and Seeley, parent and community groups had been effective in promoting change in the early 1970s but the current levels of parent participation is low and leaders of the parent organizations are ineffective. The level of parent participation at Marshall appears to have been low at both time periods.

The evidence we have looked at also documents that when their children's interests are threatened, poor and minority parents were able to develop resources comparable to those mobilized by the suburban parents: access to community influentials, political strategists, educational experts, and supportive insiders. They can recruit other parents, monitor the schools and articulate the parents' concerns at public meetings. The major differences between the urban and suburban activists is that the former are concerned with more serious school problems (violence, intolerable facilities, racist administrators and/or teachers, etc.), and there are fewer community resources to help them solve the problems. They also appear more likely to use confrontation tactics and to publicize the issues via the media. Most important, perhaps, is the fact that poor minority parents have no control over community resources. Obviously, their residential options are limited to these poorer neighborhoods.

Table VII-1 presents a summary of what appeared to be the most important resources and deficits at each school site. Our findings suggest the following:

1) Chicago inner city parents are more dependent on institutional community resources than the Eastport parents: formal organizations that can provide technical assistance

2) The most effective groups, in the long run, appear to be those that include insiders and shift from an adversary to a cooperative relationship with school personnel

3) Independent voluntary community based associations appear more likely to develop sustained parent leadership than organizations dependent on government support

In the 4 cases where parents had mobilized in the early 1970s, there was evidence that parent leaders had been trained by a community organization (Deegan, Polinsky), or a representative from a community organization played a major role in the activities to effect change (Harrison and Seeley). Efforts to build the new school in Freemont were initiated by parents who went to Freemont Neighbors for technical assistance. The resources to train parents came from a religious group (Jesuits). Confrontation tactics were used to achieve the goal, but they developed a cooperative relationship with school staff to plan the new school and new curriculum. Once that issue was resolved, the parent leaders began to work with parents in other predominantly Mexican schools in Freemont. The high level of parent participation at Polinsky is a spin-off from this earlier mobilization. The knowledge gained from the struggle over the high school and subsequent battles with the school board and administration has been passed on to young parents by the earlier leaders who have remained in the neighborhood and are still active in Freemont Neighbors. Thus parents in Freemont are not dependent on professional organizers for training. There are, currently, 3 paid staff members at Freemont Neighbors, but goals are established and decisions are made by the membership. In order to maintain its independence, Freemont Neighbors does not apply for government funds.

TABLE VII-1

MOBILIZATION RESOURCES AND DEFICITS AT 5 SCHOOL SITES

School		Resources	Deficits
1. DEEGAN:	Current	City level advocacy organization with resources to train parents Local political organization Independent community organizations Family-child service agencies Organized Latino group Media	No leadership continuity in parent council Unresponsive principal and district superintendent School located outside black neighborhood Interaction settings around school: low Ineffective parent council Low levels of parent volunteerism Weak community level parent networks High crime area
	Past	Parent leadership Insider support (superintendent) Jobs allocated for parents Community based organization with parent training resources	Administrative turnover (supportive superintendent transferred) Parent leader antagonized school personnel
2. MARSHALL		Community level school committee Supportive principal and teachers Diversity of educational and cultural resources in community Parent-child centers Institutional resources: high	Interaction settings around school: low Location of school at fringe of community Low level of parent volunteerism Homogeneous school population (segregated) Low linkage between parents and community organizations Ineffective parent council Availability of educational alternatives Low level of organizing around school issues by community organizations Neighborhood deteriorating

TABLE VII-1 (cont'd)

School		Resources	Deficits
3. POLINSKY		3 active parent councils Leadership continuity Supportive insiders who live in community Interaction settings around school: high Established independent community agency with parent resources and strong ties to other community organizations Continued commitment of former parent leaders Media	Inadequate recreational facilities on school grounds Neglect of area around school High crime area Conflict between professional organizers and parent leaders No influence in ward politics
4. HARRISON		Community-oriented principal Parent volunteers Bilingual staff; some living in community Community organization interested in education but few ties to Harrison parents City level Latino advocacy group assigned trainer to this school	Inexperienced principal Most students do not live near school Ineffective parent leadership Displacement of Puerto Rican population High crime area Interaction settings near school: low High transiency among students Most community agencies are service oriented/staffed by professionals Reports that parent volunteerism has been undermined
5. SEELEY:	Current	School employee who is informal parent leader Supportive principal Insiders who live in community and linked to parents Interaction settings near school: high	No formal leadership continuity No evidence of serious problem City level advocacy group has few resources Community agencies are service oriented and most are geared to serve community-at-large
	Past	Parent-initiated effort to get new school Supportive principal Supportive alderman Support from church-affiliated group	

Most informants attributed the decline in parent participation at Harrison and Seeley to urban renewal and the disintegration of Puerto Rican community life (including neighborhood organizations), the decline in federal support for community action programs and parent participation, and ineffective parent leadership. These informants believe that the Mexicans have been able to develop and maintain a base in Freemont because they have been in Chicago longer than the Puerto Ricans and have recently begun to develop some limited economic and political influence. There is presently no independent organization where parents play a major role at Harrison or Seeley. Latino parents at these schools are dependent on city level school related advocacy organizations or multiple issue community organizations that appear to have few resources to devote to education. Some informants were critical of the city level and community organizations whose goals are determined by funding agencies and programs are implemented by professionals with no stake in the neighborhood.

The low level of parent participation at Deegan, prior to the crisis we observed, was attributed to principal resistance to parent participation, an inactive parent council, the location of the school and decline in community organizational resources. Nevertheless, Mrs. Stanley was able to mobilize resources comparable to those associated with the Eastport groups. She relied primarily on community based resources. The Latino parents at Deegan first turned to a city level group for technical assistance. Through this contact they became linked to a parent trainer who lived in their community. There were 2 problems with the parent leadership that developed at Deegan in the early 1970s: the parent leader did not train others to assume leadership roles and her continual use of confrontation tactics antagonized school personnel.

Ineffective parent leaders and a decline in community level involvement in public school issues appeared to be the major reasons for the low level of parent participation at Marshall.

The evidence suggests that in schools where principals do not want parent participation or where parent council leaders are ineffective, we can expect to find that:

1. The local school council will be inactive or dominated by the principal. No resources will be devoted to train parents or help them develop leadership.

2. Parents will be isolated from parents at other district schools. The LSC structure provides no mechanism to link parents to other parent councils at the district or city level.

3. The development of parent leadership is dependent on community based resources. Parents must also develop their own information sources.

4. Parents must by-pass the local school principal to effect change (e.g., get support from higher level administrators or a school board member).

5. There will be few school-sponsored events that enable parents to meet and interact with other parents.

6. Teachers appear, or openly admit, that they are afraid to cooperate with parents (even when they agree with the parent group). They are afraid this would jeopardize their jobs.

Under the above circumstances, the development of parent leadership and mobilization appears to be dependent on community resources. The following factors appear to limit the availability of such resources to poor and minority residents:

1. Residential segregation. Schools with predominantly black and Latino enrollments reflect the racial and economic composition of the neighborhood. We assume that parents are more likely to become active in school affairs when there is a conflict--conflict is more likely to be generated when school enrollments are diverse, and where some parents have access to new ideas. The ghetto residents we interviewed appeared isolated from education-related information sources except for the advocacy organizations run by members of their ethnic group who tend to focus on ideas that promote the interests of the ethnic group.

2. There are now few organizational resources available in poor minority neighborhoods. Most of those to which minority parents have access are government or foundation sponsored and therefore unstable. These funds have been reduced or eliminated in some neighborhoods. Those that remain appear to address problems identified by funding agencies or professionals who have no stake in the local neighborhood. They seem to be service oriented.

   Some community organizations were training grounds for parent leaders. Where the funds have been cut-off there is a leadership vacuum in the community. The most stable resource providers appear to be church groups and other private voluntary organizations.

3. Some parents are reluctant to work with professional organizers who tend to promote confrontation tactics. Parents

claim that the organizers frequently promote their own political or professional interests rather than the childrens'.

4. Fragmentation of neighborhood organizations. There appears to be little coordination and sharing among neighborhood organizations in some communities (possibly because they are competing for the same limited funds).

5. Latino parents report that their calls for assistance from local politicians are usually ignored--or that they don't even bother to make contacts at this level since they know it's a waste of time.

A tour of the neighborhoods around each of the 5 schools suggest 6 factors that reduce opportunities for inner city parents to interact in non-institutionalized settings:

1. The absence of a central business area or service center. Or, a former center in a state of decline (stores are boarded up).

2. Gentrification and vandalism. In neighborhoods slated for renewal there are, on almost every block, vacant lots, burned out buildings, and empty apartments. Similar conditions in West Side black neighborhoods resulted from the 1960s riots.

3. High crime rates. Residents are afraid to go out at night. Elaborate arrangements are often required to ensure a large turnout at community meetings.

4. Lack of public recreational facilities in the neighborhood.

5. Isolation of the school building from the center of the community (if there is a center). Old inner city schools are frequently located across from a factory, a hospital or other institution. There are no near-by stores, parks or other facilities to serve families with young children.

6. The older schools look like fortresses or factories, have minimal playground space and no equipment or facilities that would attract mothers with young children.

VIII. REVIEWERS COMMENTS ON THE SUBURBAN DATA

Since the urban phase of our research was confined to only 5 neighborhoods and our interviews conducted with black and Hispanic parents, we asked 6 people familiar with participation in other urban communities to comment on a summary of the Eastport data. Only 3 of the reviewers were able to respond in time to meet our report deadline.

Reviewers were asked to react to a 20-page summary of the suburban data in terms of 5 questions:

a. Based on your knowledge or experience in urban communities, how likely is it that poor and minority parents can mobilize comparable resources to develop influence in school policies?

b. Are the patterns and resources we have identified consistent with the findings of your research or experience in either urban or suburban communities?

c. Can you suggest other factors that should be included in comparative research on parent participation?

d. Do you see a need for further research on participation from the parents' perspective?

e. What policy implications might be drawn from this summary?

1. SARA LAWRENCE LIGHTFOOT

(Sara L. Lightfoot is an associate professor, Harvard University, Graduate School of Education. Professor Lightfoot's research has focused primarily on teacher-student relations, but also includes teacher-parent relations. Some of her findings are reported in Worlds Apart and articles in social science journals.)

Steinberg's paper begins with a challenge to prevailing myths about suburban schools. We have been led to believe that there is either a comfortable harmony between parents and teachers in suburban communities or that conflicts are resolved in reasonable and rational discussion with parents exerting an enormous amount of influence and power. We cling to these notions of family/school harmony even in the face of opposing anecdotal evidence. Our friends and colleagues, who have children in upper middle class suburban schools, often complain of their unsuccessful attempts to influence their children's schools in some way. A nuclear physicist at M.I.T. is disregarded when he makes suggestions about other ways to approach the science curriculum of his fifth grade child. A black physician who wants the inclusion of a more multi-cultural perspective in the social studies course of his seventh grade daughter feels defeated when the school limits its efforts to Negro History Week. The experiences of even the most privileged and resourceful parents, therefore, are often ones of exclusion. They speak forcefully and articulately but their voices are not heard. According to Steinberg, these upper-middle class suburban parents look for alternative modes of action, expression and intervention, building socio-political groups outside the school sphere and often in conflict with it. Their hope is that these peripheral groups will build linkages to organizations and personnel inside the system and exert a less threatening and indirect influence.

Two things strike me about the suburban parents' image of comfort in relating to school and their strategies for mobilizing action. The persistent image of harmony between families and schools in suburbia resists all evidence to the contrary and is reinforced by an image of a homogeneity and consensus of values among suburban dwellers. Perhaps one of the reasons observers cling to the vision of suburban harmony lies in their negative perceptions of conflict: their wish to deny its existence because they believe it to be a destructive and chaotic force. This view regards the optimal relationship between families and schools as one of consensus and balance. The conflicts that erupt between families and schools and among family groups are minimized or denied by those who want to assert a non-conflictual model. In Worlds Apart I argue that conflict is not only inevitable but historically determined. It reflects the differences between the cultural purposes and structural properties of these two primary institutions of socialization. Practitioners, researchers, and policy makers should not expect absolute harmony or consensus between families and schools, but rather begin to diagnose the positive and negative forms of conflict and seek to move beyond the destructive forms. Positive dissonance, I argue, originates out of balanced power between schools and the communities they serve. If conflict is used to magnify or reinforce power differences between families and schools, then it is dysfunctional in its purpose and form.

My second point has to do with the way suburban parents can mobilize for action. Even if we recognize their authentic experiences of exclusion from school affairs, the basic power balance that I referred to above provides a solid base for legitimate action. Beyond the walls of the school, parents in these communities are seen as worthy of respect, influential, well connected, and in charge of their fate. An act of exclusion from school officials is not necessarily experienced as an assault on their personhood or their authority as a parent and/or worker.

On the other hand, in urban minority communities, parents are also denied access to the school, excluded from decision-making processes, and relegated to empty ritualistic events at school that tend to confirm stereotypic images. But the effects of exclusion are likely to be more disastrous. Not only are the assaults taken more personally by people who are feeling less than adequate educationally, but poor urban parents have fewer networks and connections on which they can call for assistance and support. Ironically, the school looms larger in urban communities because the judgments of student and parent groups by school personnel are potentially more determining of the life chances of the next generation. If the school door is closed and if the policies and practices are designed to exclude parents, then it is hard to find alternative doors to knock on. One of the major differences in Steinberg's suburban data and those that I suspect will emerge from an urban sample is that the alternative external resources and strategies used by suburban parents to indirectly influence schools will not be within the purview of most urban parents. Without options for more cursory and covert influence from external sources, I would suspect that urban parents will show less versatility and imagination in making their demands known. Their voices at the school door will grow louder, their demands will become increasingly repetitious and frustrated, and the school's resistance will be forged more deeply, leading to more frequently occurring eruptions of violence and extreme conflict.

It is also important to consider the resources available to suburban parents that Steinberg claims enhance their possibilities for successfully influencing the school (see pp. 17 and 18). Included in this list are low mobility patterns, home ownership, a large proportion of non-working mothers, and school personnel who reside in the community. All of these dimensions would be expected to lead to a sense of accountability to the community by teachers, and a sense of social responsibility and commitment on the part of parents. But poor and minority communities tend to reflect the opposite characteristics -- high mobility among the school population, a high proportion of working mothers, few who own their own homes, and teachers who flee the community at the close of the school day. This transiency on the part of teachers and parents would seem to lead to little commitment or responsibility on the part of both groups. Neither is sufficiently rooted in the community, or even knowledgeable about it, to envision change or work towards its realization. In some sense, social change both within and outside of schools requires a vision of what is possible, persistent struggle and perseverence, intimate knowledge of the social, political, and economic forces at work, and the willingness to endure evolutionary (rather than revolutionary) patterns. Time and timing are of the essence. In communities that know no future, in schools where large parts of the student body do not remain for a year's time, the alliances and networks that Steinberg claims as essential for parent participation are often vague dreams or merely unimaginable.

Participation for what is a critical question. The substance and focus of the parent demands would seem to be an important part of the sociological puzzle. Clearly Steinberg's study revealed differences in patterns of alliance and networking for groups interested in open education, learning disabilities, and progressive curricular reforms. One would expect the same kinds of variations among groups in urban communities that would define different patterns of interaction and alliance building. But it is likely that urban parents make demands that are more challenging to the processes and purposes of education. They may also make these demands in different languages -- not the articulate and practiced rhetoric of their suburban counterparts.

It strikes me that although poor, urban parents may seem to be asking for less, they will really be asking for more. Time and time again, for example, the evidence shows that poor and working class black parents want a more classical, traditional education for their children than those envisioned by teachers. These parents are skeptical of new-fangled progressive education and uncomfortable with anything that looks like play. Their demand for a return to the "classical" would not seem to be a difficult demand to respond to. For some it might merely mean a strenuous return to the basics. But it strikes me that there is a powerful, covert demand underlying this straightforward request -- one that is much more difficult for school people to address. It is the request that teachers respect black children and treat them with dignity; that they teach them in a way that recognizes their potential contribution to society; that they focus on "heady" things and see black kids as thinkers and doers, not dancers or ballplayers. They are asking, in essence, that teachers regard their children as a precious resource for our society. That profound and difficult demand is obscured by the more simplistic request that is far more acceptable and certainly more doable. I am saying here that the content of the parents' voices and perspectives on participation may be more difficult to discern in urban settings -- partly because it is less likely that school personnel will speak the same language (literally and figuratively), and partly because the demands will have several layers and meanings. The more covert, less accessible demand may in fact be most important for the survival of poor and minority children.

In this response, I have focused my comments on some of the differences that I think might characterize parent participation in suburban and urban settings (particularly poor and minority communities). I applaud Steinberg's efforts in trying to uncover the perspectives and strategies of parent groups -- a systematically silenced constituency. The summary Steinberg presents, however, does not fully reveal the faces and voices of the people she seeks to represent. Another form of this essay might well include more reference to the individual voices and unique perspectives that must have been captured by the interview material. I suspect that personal style and feelings of entitlement are at least as significant to parent group formation as the external linkages and prior political experience to which Steinberg refers.

* * * *

Principal Investigator's response:

The data on the Chicago neighborhoods supports Lightfoot's observation that the effects of exclusion are more "disastrous" for urban parents who have less education and fewer networks and connections on which they can call for assistance and support. The issues around which Chicago parents mobilize are more basic and serious than those that concerned the Eastport parents. The strategies used to influence decisions in Chicago are more extreme than those employed in the suburbs (e.g., sit-ins, mass demonstrations). However, we did find communities where parents had ties to influentials, including school board members and politicians. In all 5 Chicago communities there was evidence of high student mobility, more working mothers, low home ownership and fewer teachers who lived in the neighborhood. The parents we interviewed who were more active or involved in school affairs tended to have lived in the neighborhood longer than less active parents and had higher education levels (usually a high school diploma or some college). They also had roots in the community -- particularly the Mexican women in Freemont.

There was some indication that both black and Hispanic parents look to the schools to provide a "classical, traditional education," although we did not have the resources to explore this subject in depth. One piece of supportive data appeared in a conversation with a black parent at Deegan who expressed great disappointment over the many teachers who fail to correct her children's grammar and spelling errors (in their written assignments). A parent at Marshall said that her child started speaking incomplete sentences after he was enrolled in school and noted that the classroom teachers do not devote sufficient time to discussions (most of the work she observed involves paper and pencil exercises and reading) that would help students develop their speaking ability. She believes that her child's speech patterns have been negatively influenced by the other students.

2. DON MOORE

(Don Moore is the Director of Designs for Change a Chicago based research organization that recently completed a national study of school related advocacy groups.)

My comments are based primarily on reflecting about urban parent organizations that I am pretty familiar with because of previous research and/or assistance activities, especially United Bronx Parents, Philadelphia Parents Union, United Concerned West Side Parents (Chicago), and Lakeview Schools Coalition (Chicago). These four groups were all started by mothers with a previous history of political activism. The four all grew to have a paid staff eventually. Each achieved substantial changes in school district policy and practice. Consistent with your observations, they were independent organizations, but they often sought to control and/or enlist the support of established groups.

Based on the information I have available about these and other groups, here are comments on the five questions you posed:

1. Overall the type of independent groups you studied, similar in several respects to the ones listed above, seldom emerges in urban settings. They sustain themselves beyond a specific crisis even less frequently. I generally agree with you that the types of resources you have identified are important for effective groups. To the extent that urban parent groups emerge who obtain such resources, the presence of one or both of the following is critical:

- a change oriented organization (community organization, parent organizing group, etc.) that is committed to mobilizing poor and minority parents and has access to these resources.
- a change oriented individual leader who has access to these resources already or who comes to acquire this access.

If a change-oriented organization exists that becomes an effective catalyst for mobilizing people, it will inevitably have one or more leaders with the characteristics described. However, an individual leader can mobilize people without being tied to such an organization.

Such change-oriented organizations and individual leaders can be divided into roughly two categories based on the way they capitalize on their resource contacts. First, there are leaders and organizations that mobilize poor and minority parents, but who do not teach those they mobilize how to link up with these resources themselves. Access to resources depends on the leader or the organization staff, who call on these resources at appropriate times. Thus, those mobilized are not likely to stay mobilized if the people who initially had access to the resources depart. Such a group can be very effective as long as those who are tied into the resources remain in place.

Second, there are leaders and organizations that not only mobilize poor and minority parents but actively try to teach them how to gain access to the resources themselves. Such groups, which are very rare but can be formed even under the most adverse conditions, are the most likely to survive the loss of the initial leader, defunding of the initial organization, etc.

Thus, in response to your question, I would say that poor and minority parents seldom have access to resources of the type you have identified, but that change-oriented organizations and individual leaders with necessary ideology and skills can provide this access and teach parents how to obtain this access themselves.

2. and 3. Overall, much of your analysis rings true to me and is applicable to the urban groups I have studied (e.g. your list of important resources for an effective group). However, I had some difficulty in answering these questions. The major reason for this difficulty, I think, is that we have somewhat different frames of reference in doing research. Throughout the paper there are statements that certain factors or characteristics are associated with the formation of effective parent groups, but the analysis (which of course must be presented in a very condensed way) does not give me confidence about whether the factors mentioned are critical causes of effective action, conditions that enhance or constrain effective action, superficial correlates of effective action that are associated with other causative factors, or the results of effective action. For example, you state that " . . . the ability to mobilize these resources was dependent on community and school settings which created opportunities . . . " I am uncomfortable with such generalizations, that reflect a determinism I don't feel is warranted. For example, you put much emphasis on the investigation of the attachment hypothesis, and I think some of your results related to this hypothesis are very interesting. But I can think of one highly effective group that was characterized initially by strong ties (among relatives) and one characterized by weak ties. The ideology and skills of the leader in exploiting

their particular network was more important in this case than the nature of the ties themselves (strong vs. weak).

I think that some of my difficulties may be related to the issue of what research about parent groups is trying to accomplish. One possibility is that you are trying to predict the conditions under which it is likely that effective parent groups will emerge, and it sometimes seems from reading the paper that this is an important part of your aim. I do not believe that this is a feasible objective, given the state of knowledge in the social sciences and the increasing evidence that causes are multiple and interwoven with incredible complexity.

A second possibility (the one that I have tried to focus on in my own research) is to determine what I would advise a parent group or group leader to do if they want to be effective. This approach reflects my applied research orientation, as well as my conclusion, based on groups we've studied, that action can be effective despite great variations in local situations if the group has the appropriate ideology and skills. In pursuing this viewpoint, I conclude that developing resource networks is one of a number of actions that effective parent leaders must take. Given this applied research objectives, there are a number of points drawn from your research that I find fit with my own experience:

- Effective groups must form strong independent organizations or at least very strong independent networks.

- Resource networks are crucial. I suspect that if you asked the question you employed in identifying external ties to any of the groups I listed above, they would all be able to list 200-400 people they felt would support them.

- The perspective and skills of the key members of the group who build the group's network are critical. Such group members recognize the necessity of developing contacts in all the important organizations that will affect their group's effectiveness -- school district, government, parents, voluntary organizations, etc. They overcome inhibitions about reaching out to people they wouldn't normally deal with, and they work aggressively and consciously to build their networks.

- Important to the effective effort to build a network is the ability to size up what a potential contact might do for you for what reasons; effective network builders don't only focus on people they feel will be fully sympathetic to them.

- Your list of resources gained through networking fits well with my own experience.

4. I do indeed see a need for much more research conducted from a parent, as well as a student, perspective. I continue to be amazed at the systematic bias of NIE and other government agencies in focusing on education from the viewpoint of the professional. For example, one of the most significant reform efforts (perhaps the most significant) in education in the past decade has been in the education of the handicapped. This reform effort was initiated largely by independent parent groups and their supporters and has legitimated (at least in public policy) a strong parent role in the school. Yet studies of the history of this reform effort are almost nonexistent, and almost all of the research on the reform continues to be done from the perspective of the professional (e.g. does the teacher assert that the reform is inconvenient to implement?).

Since under the best of circumstances, funds for studying education from the parent's perspective are likely to be limited, I would argue that this research should be designed to yield practical information useful in training and assisting parents, as I discussed above.

5. The major policy implication that I would draw from the study is that independent parent groups are an important resource for reforming schools and that steps should be taken to facilitate their development. Nurturing such independent groups implies the development of a support system that is itself independent of educational professionals. Your research pinpoints one of a number of important areas (the development of resource networks) in which focused training and assistance might be provided to parents through an independent support system.

6. I had several other comments as I read your summary:

   a. The role of your assessment of a group's effectiveness in reaching study conclusions was not completely clear to me. I think the presentation would be strengthened if you consistently stated generalizations about characteristics of effective groups or if you made it clear why generalizations that lump effective and ineffective groups together are informative.

   b. As I stated above, I think you put too much emphasis on the analysis of a specific hypothesis about strong vs. weak networks. I would like to have seen more discussion about other factors that shaped network development, particularly the frames of reference, skills, and strategies of the network-builders.

c. It was hard for me to keep the groups straight based only on their initials as I read your analysis.

3. KATHLEEN MC COURT

(Kathleen McCourt is an associate professor of Sociology at Loyola University. She has conducted research on the neighborhood participation of working class women and is the author of Working-Class Women and Grass Roots Politics.)

First, some overall reactions. I think you have really found (or found further evidence of) something that is of considerable interest, i.e., that major kinds of institutional change occur as a result of individuals outside a system putting pressure on that system. As we know, bureaucracies have built-in mechanisms that keep them going pretty much along status quo lines and they are not going to change readily from within. Like yours, my research showed that community people feel a good deal of anger at the fact that decisions with local impact are increasingly being made by bureaucrats who are not immediately accountable to the community and who, frequently, operate with very little if any local input. The structures that have in recent years been institutionalized by the federal government to get local input are not taken seriously either by the agencies soliciting them or by local people "in the know."

Also of course you found the same thing I did: when it comes to community action, it is women who play the major roles in moving things along. (At least until the groups get federal funds and become 'important'; then the women lose out. See NCNW's research.) And women engage in these efforts collectively, rather than as individual 'stars.'

I'll respond to the specific points you requested:

1. Based on my own research, I cannot speak directly to the question of whether poor/minority parents could mobilize comparable resources, but I see no apparent reason why they could not. In fact, there are examples of this happening. The black community's organized resistance to Thomas Ayers' appointment to the Chicago School Board showed these very roles and resources in operation, didn't it? However, some of the community characteristics you mention as facilitative (p. 17-18) would seem to be

much more problematic in a poor neighborhood, e.g., a high percentage of home owners; fewer mothers employed.

2. Generally, my research results are consistent with what you found. Specifically, I too found that it is women volunteers in ad hoc groups who are making social change at the local level. I also found (although this was only suggestive; nothing scientific) that women somewhat less closely tied to the community in terms of family networks were more likely to be activists (although it is important to note that these same women were emotionally more tied to the community). This suggested to me that some degree of marginality is conducive to playing a role that 'rocks the boat'; and this seems to be what you found.

You state on pg. 5, "activist mothers often lack organizational skills and knowledge of bureaucratic procedures." My research indicated that over time, activist women developed precisely such skills and knowledge, even though they did not have them when they started out. The volunteer activist experience was a real training ground for them.

3. Other factors that might be considered include some measure of the presence or absence of supportive teachers. (I have a friend in Boston who was part of a teachers' group that supported a parents group that was organizing a boycott of their school. Consequently the teachers were fired but they then worked with the parents in establishing an alternative school.)

You mention that more attention should be paid to subcultural variables and I would definitely agree. The differences you will find between Puerto Rican, Mexican and black families should be substantial. You are, of course, missing working-class whites (white ethnics; do I sound like Alderman Lipinski?) in your selection of urban groups. I think this is unfortunate but I also think you may already have indicated more major variables than one can easily handle so I would not urge you to further complicate what you are doing.

The size of the school system is a factor that would appear to be very important. And the general level of organization in a community (how many active local groups, etc.) is a contextual factor that is possibly of great importance.

4. I'm not exactly clear on what you mean about more research from the parents' perspective. Do you mean why some parents do or do not choose to get involved? This, to me, is a key question and one that I am trying to address in some of my work. I think it is important in researching the parents' perspective to deal with what we discussed earlier, i.e., the public stereotype/image that minority parents do not care what

happens to their children in school. As we said, this undoubtedly covers up very complicated realities.

One thing you mention was a major finding in my research . . . most people need to have someone contact them and ask them to get involved in an organization. Only a certain kind of well educated, highly civic minded individual tends to get involved on their own initiative. Good organizers, of course, know this. I found that women from different social classes joined community groups through different mechanisms and over different issues. With more research, you might be able to elaborate on this.

5. The major policy implication could be one of 'benign neglect.' (I never thought I'd hear myself say that.) If structuring parent participation into the school system seems by definition to co-opt the parents into the system's way of viewing things, then the goal perhaps should be to allow community/parent groups the latitude to operate outside the system. In any case, it is outsiders who keep the system honest. Of course, what would be needed if this were the case, is some way of allowing the fruits of parents' efforts to be incorporated into the system's decision-making process.

My last observation is that probably you want to define social networks loosely (or at least focus only on partial networks). You have such a complicated problem with so much potentially rich material that I can't see taking a huge chunk of precious interview time to ask the series of questions necessary to build a social network matrix. (Unless that kind of formal construction is the major thrust of your research, which I don't think it is.)

IX. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY MAKERS AND PARENTS

The purpose of this study was to explore the school and community factors that create mobilization resources for parents who want to influence decisions affecting their children's schooling.

We began by analyzing the resources mobilized by 5 suburban parent groups organized in the early 1970s to influence decisions affecting their children's education. These 5 groups were effective (e.g., they accomplished their goal).

The focus of the research was on interaction settings and resources. We wanted to find out how the parents in the groups met each other and what resources they contributed to the group. We also asked about people they knew outside the group who could help them. Forty-two key participants in these groups were interviewed.

Then we selected 5 inner city neighborhoods to see if poor and minority parents would have access to resources comparable to those mobilized by the suburban parents in Eastport. Ninety-two persons were interviewed at 5 school sites in these neighborhoods including parents, school personnel and people familiar with the community's organizational life and community school relations. At 3 sites the parents were Hispanic (from Mexico, Puerto Rico and Guatemala) in the low income category. Since most of these respondents were not fluent in English, interviews were conducted in Spanish by a bilingual interviewer. Parents interviewed at the other 2 sites were black. School enrollments for both sites were predominantly black, but they differed by grade level and social class: a high school where most of the black students were reported to come from poverty or low income homes and an elementary school where most black students were said to be from working class homes.

We used purposive rather than random sampling methods because of the exploratory nature of the study. Four of the 5 suburban groups were selected because the issues around which the parents mobilized reflected innovations or concepts that were initially rejected by local authorities. Endorsement by external authorities was perceived as a major resource for parents and we were interested in documenting changes in parent-administration relationships. The fifth group was involved in issues that reflected more traditional concerns: discipline, truancy, classroom management and teacher accountability. Selection of the Chicago neighborhoods was designed to compare differences in levels of parent participation in terms of school and community characteristics as well as ethnicity and social class.

Because of these sampling methods and the small number of cases, results cannot be used to develop generalizations. However, the findings provide a number of insights into school and community related factors that influence parent participation. These have been covered in the preceding sections. They also suggest some issues that should be addressed by policymakers and parents interested in promoting poarent participation and representation of the minority interests.

This section will review the policy implications of this study based on 3 sources: the reviewers' comments, reactions of study participants and the principal investigator's conclusions.

A. REVIEWERS' RECOMMENDATIONS

All 3 reviewers believe there is a need for further research on participation from the parents' perspective. Lightfoot stressed the need for practitioners, researchers and policy makers "to diagnose the positive and negative forms of conflict and seek to move beyond the destructive forms." She also suggests the need to investigate the effects of exclusion for poor urban parents and differences in issues, resources and strategies.

McCourt suggested that future research might include working class white ethnics and attempt to identify differences in motivation and linkage mechanisms in various communities.

Moore pointed out that the research sponsored by government agencies has focused on education from the viewpoint of the professional.

For Moore, the major policy implication is "that independent parent groups are an important resource for reforming schools and that steps should be taken to facilitate their development." Resource networks which provide focused training and assistance for parents would be an important function of such an independent support system. Along these lines, McCourt suggested that parent groups be given "latitude to operate outside the system . . . " but pointed out that "what would be needed if this were the case, is some way of allowing the fruits of parents' efforts to be incorporated into the system's decision-making process."

B. PARTICIPANTS' REACTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Meetings to present and discuss the study results were held in June at both research sites. A special summary was prepared for the parents and other participants in each setting.

1. REACTIONS OF EASTPORT PARENTS

The 28 parents who attended this meeting expressed concerns about the following: changes in womens roles and the impact on participation, tensions between working and non-working mothers, the fragmentation of parent groups and the need for parent handbooks.

a. Role changes

It was predicted that Eastport and other middle class suburban districts will become more and more like urban districts. There are more working mothers, more single parent families and fewer people to volunteer. The need is to develop alternatives for participation that accommodate the needs of working parents.

The mother who initiated the Lunchroom Group said that she was still interested in school issues but now that she is working full-time she is no longer tied in to the "parent circuit." She recommended that PTA and other school meetings be held in the evenings and on week-ends. A PTA president pointed out that the PTA has been trying to make changes to accomodate working women's schedules with little success. Another described these organizations as operating with an "obsolete framework." A board member who was asked to comment on this matter said that little effort had been made by the PTA "probably because the most active parents are not working and they want these meetings scheduled when it's convenient for them."

b. Tensions between working and non-working mothers related to the above issue.

Mothers who do not work outside the home who have assumed the volunteer roles were described as feeling that they were "doing more than they should." There is growing resentment towards the working mother particularly if it's assumed that the family does not need her income.

The implication of this discussion for practitioners is that arrangements for parent meetings should not be left entirely in the hands of the non-working parents, and roles need to be set up for the working parents. The implication for working parents is that they should take the initiative and not leave things solely in the hands of the non-working parents.

c. Fragmentation

There is a need for practitioners, parents and policy makers to take a new look at the major goals of American education. In recent years participation has become fragmented around special interests and this appears to be a national problem. This came about because school systems did not pay attention to the needs of all children. However, most action today is generated by lobby groups who lose sight of major system goals. This tends to promote divisiveness among parents at the local level.

d. Parent handbooks

One teacher-parent suggested that "what's needed is a handbook of strategies. Each time a parent group gets started they have to formulate all of these strategies out of their guts. If parents who have not been involved in the political process had a guide it would provide ideas to get them started."

2. REACTIONS OF CHICAGO PARENTS

Twenty-three parents and representatives from city level organizations attended the Chicago meeting. Their discussion reflected the need to develop an effective role for parents, provide continuous parent training including strategies for recruiting parents, ands means to develop concensus around basic goals.

a. An effective parent role

A researcher who has observed parent groups in several major cities, observed that most parents begin participation with an inappropriate attitude. The issue often becomes one of "parent power: who is going to win? The parents or the administrators?" Parents with this attitude talk about hiring personnel and controlling teachers but never correlate this with student achievement or what goes on in the classroom. They rarely concern themselves with issues related to teaching and learning.

Parent participation it was suggested should be focused around the learning process, and the reward should be improvements in the ability of the child to function as a successful person.

b. Parent Training

There were more funds available for parent training in the early 1970s from federal and local sources. These efforts need to be maintained because of the constant turnover in the parent population. A parent organizer suggested that training programs should provide leadership development, and stress techniques for recruiting members and maintaining involvement. The Philadelphia Parents Union was cited as an independent organization that has managed to survive for about 8 years. This group does not seek masses, according to the organizer, it recruits parents who have been PTA leaders at local schools but have become disenchanted with that operation and are thus willing to work outside the system. It was also noted that it usually takes a parent group from 3 to 5 years to get a new idea institutionalized in local school systems.

c. Consensus

The need to develop concensus around basic goals evolved from a discussion of racism and group consciousness. One participant observed that the emphasis on group consciousness encourages each ethnic group and social class to develop a separate agenda, groups compete with each other and the school system is placed in a mediating position.

"We should get together and ask what are our common interests and organize around them, across the board," the participant suggested. "Instead, we make it easy for the administrators who play us off against each other. They tell black parents we can't do this because we have to spend so much money on bilingual programs. Middle class parents are told there would be money for gifted programs if it weren't for having to pay for free lunches for the poor children."

The group agreed that the system would not change unless the parents changed.

C. PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR'S RECOMMENDATIONS

We agree with Moore (Section VIII) that the major policy implication of the study is "that independent groups are an important resource for reforming schools and that steps should be taken to facilitate their development." Our interviews, observations and own experiences suggest that the development of such groups would be facilitated by the following:

a. Disseminating more information about parents who have changed local schools. This might help to reinforce current activists who have little support at the local level and motivate others to become active.

b. Strengthen existing independent agencies that include a parent training component.

c. Specify that parent training components of funded programs include leadership development, strategies to create and expand personal and group level networks and other skills that will enable parents to function independently and utilize and share available resources.

d. Develop instruments for evaluating the extent to which the specifications referred to in "c" are implemented by the agency.

e. Increase opportunities for parents to participate in training programs outside of their neighborhood and/or school district. This should open up new channels for parents to receive new ideas, exchange ideas, etc.

f. School board members should encourage parents to meet with them to discuss issues.

g. Programs for administrators and teachers should include training in parent and community relations. Such programs should prepare the professionals to interact with different types of parents and to understand the communities in which they operate. Our observations indicate that there are many administrators and teachers whose training and experience has not equipped them to respond appropriately to parents who have been socialized to play an active role in their children's schooling.

h. Parent training programs should provide strategies for parents to promote cooperative as well as confrontative (when necessary) relationships with school personnel.

i. All participants should receive training in problem solving and conflict resolution.

j. Create alternatives to traditional PTAs and local school councils for working parents who want to be active.

k. Create incentives for parents and other citizens to volunteer for school roles.

l. Create incentives for principals and teachers to develop parent leadership and participation.

Other important policy implications of the study concern the need for an independent structure to represent parents, the effects of parent role change, ways to bring parents into the school setting, the need for parent leadership training, and support for research related to these issues.

1. PARENT REPRESENTATION

The case studies included here document that local school councils (including PTAs) have a tendency to become closed to parent participation. While the evidence also indicates that parents can organize outside the school system, the process requires an enormous commitment in terms of time, energy and other scarce resources for both suburban and inner city parents. More important, it is threatening. Regardless of their social class or ethnicity, most parents are afraid to challenge the school system. It seems easier to challenge if the issue involves facilities rather than teaching methods or issues related to the professional's performance. Every parent we have interviewed said that he/she was afraid that their participation might jeopardize their child's position. The parents who started the groups were strengthened by the knowledge that they knew that their concern was legitimate and that they had the right to intervene or influence the decision.

At schools where principals encourage parent participation, they are responsive to parent concerns (e.g., the look into the matter rather than blame the child or parent and do something about the problem if the school is found responsible). Where principals are resistant to parents, the typical pattern is to protect the teacher (or school administration) and intimidate or blame parent and/or child. When this happens, it is usually difficult for parents to enlist support unless the problem affects a large number of other students. Many problems never reach the attention of the superintendent or the school board. These officials seem, frequently, to be unaware of the obstacles that local building principals and/or local parent organizations create for parents who wish to challenge the local school. One reason for this lack of awareness is that school board members are usually dependent on the school administration for their information on what is happening at the local school. Therefore, even if the parents have the courage to go straight to the school board, the board member turns to the superintendent for information. He in turn consults the building principal who, of course, will deny the charge.

For the above reasons, there seems to be a need to develop a mechanism independent of the school administration through which parent concerns or grievances can be dealt with in a non-threatening atmosphere and a source of information independent of the administrative staff. This structure should also be responsible for disseminating information to all parents on their rights and responsibilities. We don't know how this facility should be structured, but it probably requires independence from the central administration as well as the local building principal.

2. ROLE CHANGE

We have elsewhere reviewed evidence that suggests that the concept of parent participation has influenced the behavior of parents in school districts throughout the country (Steinberg, 1979). some of the cases reported here also reflect the influence of the feminist movement. Our observations suggest that there are many administratars and teachers whose training and experience has not equipped them to respond appropriately to parents who have been socialized to play an active role in their child's schooling.

From the perspective of administrators and teachers, on the other hand, we can see parents whose behavior may be equally inappropriate. Examples included in this study are the efforts by the Open Classroom group to specify the schools from which teachers should be recruited, and the intimidation of teachers by Mrs. Patterson. Several of our informants suggested that parents are being encouraged to engage in confrontation tactics by community organizers.

There may be times when confrontation tactics are needed but if the goal of the parent group is eventually to achieve a cooperative relationship with school personnel (usually the case), it seems to us that this strategy must be part ofe a long range plan and include steps to develop cooperation eventually.

There appears to be a need for training in problem solving and conflict resolution for all the participants in these school-community struggles: administrators, teachers, parents and community organizers.

Perhaps the most important effect of the women's movement on school community relations is the increase in the number of working women with school-aged children and the consequences for parent participation. In both city and suburb there are fewer women who can attend day time parent meetings or volunteer during school hours. Where school officials and/or parent organization leaders fail to create evening and/or week-end alternatives for working parents the latter will have unequal access to mobilization resources related to the school. Some thought should be given by policy makers and parents to the creation of alternatives more accessible and attractive to working parents. In this regard, some efforts should be made to increase the participation of fathers.

3. SCHOOL RELATED INTERACTION SETTINGS

We do not know to what extent the Eastport and Chicago schools are typical of other suburban and urban schools in terms of opportunities for parents to interact with school personnel and other parents. Our findings indicate that the school is the most frequent place for parents to meet other parents and that parents are most likely to visit the school in connection with their own children. Their volunteer activities are also usually related to their own children's experiences. Training workshops for administrators, teachers and parents should identify techniques and activities that have successfully attracted parents in different contexts.

4. PARENT LEADERSHIP TRAINING.

There is a need to train both suburban and urban parents for leadership. Suburban parent leaders tend to be non-working women who are either unaware of or unresponsive to the needs of working parents. Some parent leaders in Chicago exhibited similar characteristics. The need to develop parent leadership is most acute at schools where principals have resisted parent participation. In urban areas, especially, where parents are affiliated with an ethnic minority there will probably be few, if any, training resources at the community level.

For the above reasons, training programs should be offered at the city level (preferrably by an agency independent of the school system) and include an out reach component to identify schools with a leadership vacuum and incentives to attract potential leaders.

5. RELATED RESEARCH

We recommend that policy makers interested in fostering parent participation focus on research that will increase our knowledge of the school and community related factors that promote participation since these may be easier to change than psychological factors. The present study suggests the following areas for future research:

a. Identification of the school and community related factors associated with effective parent mobilization in different contexts. This task requires comparisons between effective and ineffective groups.

b. Schools and/or programs that attract parents into the school setting. Since our findings suggest that the school is the most likely setting for parent interaction and the development of school related networks, we believe there is a need to identify the characteristics of schools and/or programs that attract parents.

c. The factors that promote sustained parent leadership in different contexts.

d. Strategies and issues. Research in this area should address such questions as: What strategies are most effective? Under what conditions are confrontation strategies likely to work? Do different issues require different strategies, etc.?

In addition to the above, we believe there is a need for research on changes in the parent's role, particularly the effects of the feminist movement on the socialization of women. We also need studies to identify the factors that promote the participation of fathers.

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APPENDIX A

The significance of preexisting social ties pervades the sociological literature on collective action. There are 2 dominant schools of thought on the relationship between community attachment and participation in organized protest. According to one, reflected in "mass society" theories, opposition is attributed to the sudden activation of previously "unattached" individuals or uprooted collectivities (Kornhauser, 1959). This view was challenged by several scholars in the 1960s (Bramson, 1961; Greer and Orleans, 1962) and has recently come under renewed attack, by mobilization theorists who maintain that attached individuals or organized collectivities are the most likely to engage in sustained protest (Oberschall, 1973; Tilly, 1978:81). In the rest of this paper I will refer to the latter as the "attachment" hypothesis.

One version of the attachment hypothesis, offered by Oberschall, states that:

> Participants in popular disturbances and activists in opposition organizations will be recruited primarily from previously active and relatively well-organized individuals within the collectivity, whereas socially isolated, atomized, and uprooted individuals will be underrepresented, at least until the movement has become substantial (1978:135).

Two of the minimum conditions for collective action, assuming the preconditions for conflict, are an integrated community/collectivity and attached activists. Sustained protest requires an organizational base and leadership. Two types of social structure provide these resources: one organized around communal primary ties, the other organized around "a dense network of secondary groups" (Oberschall, 1973:125). Sustained protest is unlikely, even where the preconditions for conflict exist, if the community is unorganized, leadership is not available, and activists lack access to a local network through which to recruit followers.

Given the weight assigned to the presence or absence of preexisting horizontal social ties by so many scholars, it is surprising to note the paucity of empirical research which systematically examines the social ties of the members of protest groups. Discussions typically refer to "dense networks" that activists are embedded in, but the concept is typically used as a metaphor. We need systematic micro-level inquiries that permit examination of social ties before and after the formation o. conflict groups in different contexts as well as the effects of these ties.

1. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Three levels of analysis are required to operationalize the network concepts that are usually mentioned in the mobilization literature. If we are to understand the role of social ties in the mobilization of conflict groups we should first look at the relationships, preexisting or otherwise, between the initiator and the principal activists. If the research site is a community organized on the basis of secondary groups (as the present case) we then need to look at the ties between the activists and other community organizations and/or community influentials. Finally, we would have to examine the links between community organizations to which members are affiliated and the linkages between these associations and other community groups. This study has collected data on the first 2 levels: the ties between conflict group initiators and initial recruits and their ties to other community organizations and influential individuals. Our data on the linkage between community organizations if qualitative.

The concept which appeared most appropriate for this study's focus is the "ego-centric" or "personal network," defined as the set of people who are connected directly to an ego. Personal networks, which are bounded entities, based on an individual, are distinct from "social networks," defined as unbounded entities of interrelated units (Fischer et al., 1977; Laumann and Pappi, 1976:18-19).

The logic underlying the application of the personal network concept to an analysis of mobilization is, first of all, that in order to initiate a conflict group a leader, or potential leader, must activate preexisting social ties, or develop new ties, to others who will work with him to promote the cause.

Secondly, if the group is to achieve its objective, the initiator, and those he recruits, must have ties to others who can be recruited to join the group or provide resources needed by the group.

Let us apply the language of network analysis to operationalize the hypotheses implicit in the 2 contrasting perspectives presented at the beginning of this paper. If the "unattached" hypothesis is correct, we would expect to find that the people who organized conflict groups and their initial recruits would play a marginal role in the local community. This marginality would be indicated by sparse and loosely-knit personal networks. That is, they would know few people in the local community and most of these people would not know each other. Furthermore, they would not belong to local organizations.

If the attachment hypothesis is correct, we would expect that the organizers and initial recruits would have played a central role in local affairs, thus they would have extensive and dense personal networks. They would know a lot of people active in the community and most of these people would know each other. They would probably be leaders or know leaders of local associations and these leadership skills would be transferred to the new group. Such dense networks are presumed characteristic of localities organized around communal or secondary associations and facilitate rapid mobilization (Oberschall, 1973:125).

The literature on personal networks suggests that an individual's personal network can be divided into sectors, or partial networks. A partial network is a section of a personal network selected on the basis of specific criteria. The concept is typically used to analyze the ties activated to accomplish a specific objective or the potential links that might be activated (Barnes, 1969; Fischer et al., 1977).

Fischer suggests that the partial network chosen for investigation depends on the research question (Fischer et al., 1977:34). For example, if the investigator wants to analyze participation in a political group, he would ask the participants how they were recruited to the grup and who they are linked to outside the group.

So far, applications of the partial network concept to political behavior have been conducted by British anthropologists, primarily based on direct observation in non-Western settings (see Mitchell, 1969). Current research in the U.S. and Canada, working in this tradition, has focused on measures of primary social ties based on survey methods (McAllister and Fischer, 1978; Wellman, 1979).

2. METHODS

Survey methods, we maintain, are not appropriate for the analysis of the formation and development of conflict groups. Since conflict groups are typically initiated by unique individuals (and initial recruits will probably also be unique), these people are not likely to show up in a random sample. We have therefore selected a purposive sample on the assumption that if we examine the partial personal networks of the principal activists in conflict groups involved in a variety of issues in different contexts, it may be possible to develop some testable propositions about these actors and the contexts in which they operate.

Toward this end, we identified 5 groups which mobilized around educational issues in one community. Following McAllister and Fischer's methods, we isolated the sector of ego's personal network relevant to participation in school politics which we designate the "school affairs network." This partial network consists of 2 types of social ties:

1. Internal: ties to other members of the conflict group;
2. External: ties to individuals outside the conflict group who are perceived as likely to support ego's educational interest.

The external network is an artifact of a set of questions designed to elicit the names of:

a. People the respondent had worked with on school issues prior to forming or joining the group;

b. People met since joining or forming the group who the respondent perceives as likely to support his educational interests.

To measure the density of this school affairs network, all the names included were placed on a matrix and the respondent was asked to indicate which pairs knew each other. The density score was computed by the formula:

$$D = \frac{Na}{N \times N-1} ,$$

where D = density; Na = the number of actual ties; N = number of persons involved; and N x N-1 = the number of theoretically possible ties.

Aggregate density is a measure of the group level network. It is arrived at by selecting all the names mentioned at least once by the people in the group, putting these names in a group level matrix, and computing density by the above formula.

This concept of aggregate density is consistent with Granovetter's weak tie hypothesis and Bott's (1959) work on family and social networks. In contrast to much of the research on small groups which has focused on the relationships between members of the group (internal ties and dynamics), this study stresses external relationships: those between people in the group and others outside the group, as shown in Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1 protrays internal and external ties from Ego's perspective. The conflict group is shown at the left and includes members A, B, C, D, and Ego. Actors G, H, I, and J are the people Ego believes will support his educational interests. The arrows indicate that 3 of these 4 individuals included in Ego's personal network know each other. They thus constitute a relatively "dense" network. Based on Granovetter's "weak tie" hypothesis, we would predict that the 3 linked individuals probably know the same people and share similar interests. By himself, therefore, the support that Ego can enlist for the group's interests is probably narrow.

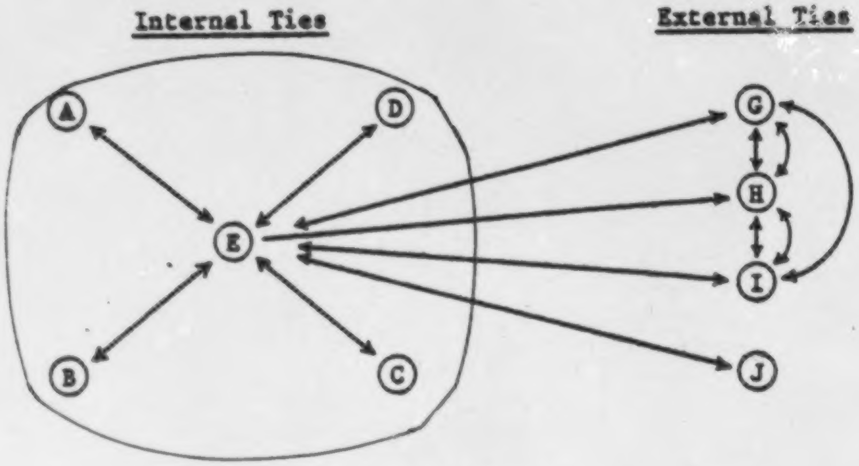

Fig. 1. Ego's school affairs network.

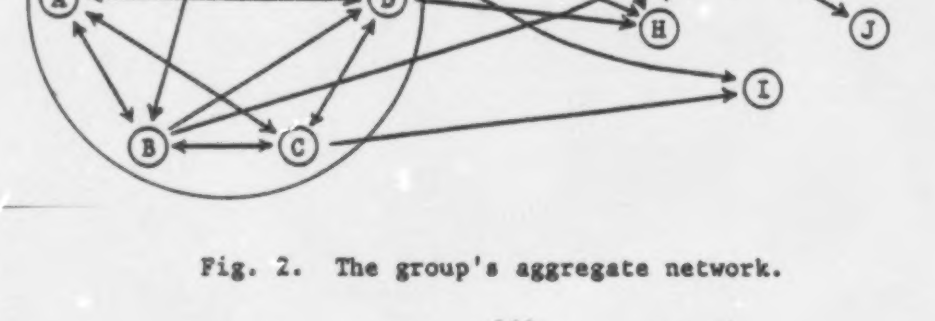

Fig. 2. The group's aggregate network.

From the perspective of the conflict group, the significant factor is the group's aggregate network, which refers to the external ties of all primary actors. A hypothetical aggregate network is depicted in Figure 2. We are interested in the number of unique external ties associated with each conflict group--that is, the number of people mentioned at least once--and the density of this group level network. In considering the ability of a group to reach or influence others, the number of people mentioned may not be as important as the extent to which these people are interrelated. The significance of this factor probably varies in different sectors and with different issues. However, in a heterogeneous, or segmented, community (Oberschall, 1973; Granovetter, 1973) it is likely that a group with a loosely-knit (less dense) network will be more effective in mobilizing support than a tightly-knit one since it should be able to develop access to diverse segments of the community.

Between them, the 5 members of the conflict group shown in Figure 2 have ties to 7 individuals outside the group. Since only 3 of these individuals are perceived by group members as related to each other, we would classify this external aggregate network as "loosely knit."

Bott looked at the relationships between the density of a couple's ties outisde of marriage and conjugal role segregation on the assumption that the "internal functioning of a group is affected not only by its relationship with the people and organizations of its environment, but also by the relationships among these people and organizations" (Bott, 1971:249). To my knowledge these notions have not been adapted to the study of political groups but they are consistent with Oberschall's and Granovetter's hypotheses.

3. DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

a. Personal networks:

the individuals with whom an actor has a social relationship. These social relationships will be referred to as "ties" or links." This study is restricted to educationally relevant ties and include:

Local parents: a) other parents with whom the respondent has worked with on school issues in the past

b) parents who the respondent believes would support him/her on an educational issue

School Board members

School administrators and other professionals
employed in the local school system

State and federal elected representatives

State and federal educational officials

Individuals (or association) outside the community
who provide resources to the local actor(s).

b. Internal ties:

relationships between the members of the group.

c. External ties:

horizontal ties between members of the group and other local groups or individuals.

vertical ties between members of the group and groups/individuals outside the local community.

d. Influence:

actual and potential support for the issue with which the group is involved. Actual support will refer to the individuals an/or groups with whom the actor is in direct contact where there is a specific indicator of endorsement. Potential support refers to links initiated by an actor because they are likely to provide support, or lead to such support.

e. Core:

members of the group who were identified (by self and at least 2 others in the group) as most responsible for decision making in the group. In some groups core members also did most of the work.

f. Principal actor:

a member of the group, not included in the core, who was identified as obtaining important resources.

g. Periphery:

people identified as having attended meetings to support the issue.

4. THE SAMPLE

Criteria for selecting the 5 groups for this analysis were: the nature of the group's goal, strategy, duration, and goal attainment. All of the issues were controversial and involved efforts to change some aspect of the local school program. Four reflected innovations endorsed by extra-local agencies. (The fifth involved a locally defined problem and was included for comparative purposes.) Initial demands by parents were rejected by local authorities leading to formation of the group outside the institutionalized channels for representing citizen input (in this case, the PTA, Redesign, or the local school board). The efforts persisted over a period of time (from 8 months to 7 years) and all had an impact on policy decisions. The goals and duration of the groups are listed in Table III-1.

Interviews were conducted with 60 participants in the 5 groups. An additional 37 interviews were conducted with school board members, administrators, teachers, and community residents who participated in or observed these events.

Data on personal networks and organizational membership were obtained from all initiators and initial recruits.

In addition to interviews, research methods included content analysis of school records and newspaper articles related to the issues and events.

5. IDENTIFYING GROUP MEMBERS

The initiator of each group was asked to identify the other members of the group responsible for decision making and strategy development, recruitment of new members and other important tasks involved with the group's objective. (The initiator was known to the principal investigator from the earlier field research conducted between 1970 and 1974.)

To be included in the core, the member had to be mentioned by at least 3 others as having been responsible for decision making, strategy development or other important tasks. A preliminary list of members was shown to the interviewee who was then asked whether or not s/he perceived the people as members. Finally, the interviewees were asked to give any additional names of people they perceived as members.

These procedures were not followed in the case of the Community Committee for Learning Disabilities where the initiator had promised not to give out names. The principal investigator knew the names of several persons active in this group; others were referred by these people. The total number of CCLD members is based on the activists' estimates.

It was impossible to obtain a list of peripheral members of the Lunchroom Group. (Mainly because the initiator did not try to organize a group and no list was kept of the people who turned out for public meetings to support the issue. Interviewees could not recall any names other than those who were part of the core.)

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PARENTS' SCHOOL NETWORKS

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF SCHOOL-COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENTS AND PARENT PARTICIPATION

Conducted for the

National Institute of Education

by

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Chicago, Illinois

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June, 1980

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APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR EASTPORT PARENTS

CONFIDENTIAL

Study 4289
June 1980

BEGIN DECK 01

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

SOCIAL NETWORK STUDY

CASE NUMBER: ☐ - ☐☐☐☐ 01-05

DATE OF INTERVIEW 06-09

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Time Began: ____________________ AM PM

NAME: ____________________

INTERVIEWER: IN ADVANCE OF EACH INTERVIEW MAKE NECESSARY CHANGES IN THIS INTERVIEW GUIDE. CONSULT MASTER FORM FOR EACH GROUP.

1. In what year did you move into this school district?

RECORD YEAR: | 1 | 9 | | | 16-1

Lived here all my life
(SKIP TO Q. 6) 00

---

2. We'd like to know what your reasons were for choosing this community to live in. I'm going to read you a list of possible reasons for selecting a place to live and, for each, please tell me how important that reason was to you in choosing this community--was it very important, somewhat important, or not important. (First/next)...(CODE ONE ON EACH LINE)

		Very important	Somewhat important	Not important	Don't know	
A.	The quality of public schools	1	2	3	8	18/
B.	The general appearance of the streets, grounds, and buildings in the area	1	2	3	8	19/
C.	The reputation of the community	1	2	3	8	20/
D.	The safety of the community	1	2	3	8	21/
E.	The convenience of the community to place of employment	1	2	3	8	22/
F.	The convenience of public transportation	1	2	3	8	23/
G.	The likelihood that property values will go up	1	2	3	8	24/
H.	Having neighbors of your own race	1	2	3	8	25/
I.	Having neighbors of your own income bracket	1	2	3	8	26/
J.	Good quality housing for the money	1	2	3	8	27/
K.	Recreation facilities	1	2	3	8	28/
L.	Any other reasons (SPECIFY):					
	______________________	1	2			29/
	______________________	1	2			30/
	______________________	1	2			31/

3. Now, we'd like to know how satisfied you are at the present time with each of the following . . . are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. (First/next...CODE ONE ON EACH LINE.

		Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dis-satisfied	Very dis-satisfied	Don't know	
A.	The quality of public schools	1	2	3	4	8	32/
B.	The general appearance of streets, grounds, and buildings in the area	1	2	3	4	8	33/
C.	The reputation of the community	1	2	3	4	8	34/
D.	The safety of the community	1	2	3	4	8	35/
E.	The convenience of the community to place of employment	1	2	3	4	8	36/
F.	The convenience of public transportation	1	2	3	4	8	37/
G.	The likelihood that property values will go up	1	2	3	4	8	38/
H.	The racial make-up of the community	1	2	3	4	8	39/
I.	The income level of the neighbors	1	2	3	4	8	40/
J.	The quality of housing for the money	1	2	3	4	8	41/
K.	Recreation facilities	1	2	3	4	8	42/
L.	Other (IF ANY MENTIONED IN Q. 2)						
	______________________	1	2	3	4		43/
	______________________	1	2	3	4		44/
	______________________	1	2	3	4		45/

4. Did you have any friends already living here when you moved into this school district? 46/

Yes.........................1

No..........................2

5. Before you moved to this school district, were your children enrolled in another school system?

Yes............. (ASK A)....1 47/

No.........................2

A. What school system was that?

____ 48/

(Name of school or school system) City State

B. Were you ever active in that school district?

Yes...................... 1 49/

No....................... 2

6. Before you got involved in the ____________________ issue, had you ever gotten together with a group of parents to do something about an education problem in this school district?

Yes....... (ASK A-D).... 1 50/

No 2 (SKIP TO Q. 8)

A. What was the problem? ENTER IN COLUMN 1 OF PERSONAL NETWORK FORM I. IF MORE THAN ONE PROBLEM, ASK A-D ABOUT EACH.

B. What were the names of the people you got together with about (PROBLEM)? IF THERE WERE MORE THAN 5 PERSONS, ASK FOR NAMES OF THE FIVE MOST IMPORTANT PEOPLE FOR EACH ISSUE. ENTER NAMES IN COLUMN 2 OF PERSONAL NETWORK FORM I. HOWEVER, DO NOT ENTER NAMES OF MEMBERS OF THE ACTION SET. ASK C AND D ABOUT EACH NAME.

C. How did you first meet (NAME)? ENTER ANSWER IN COLUMN 3

D. Outside of working with (NAME) on (PROBLEM) did you do anything else with this person (SUCH AS BELONG TO THE SAME CHURCH/TEMPLE) or share any activities (SUCH AS THE SAME PEDIATRICIAN)? ENTER ACTIVITIES OR "NONE" IN COLUMN 4.

DRAW LINE UNDER NAME OF LAST PERSON DISCUSSED

7. Before you got involved in the ____________________ issue, who else could you turn to for support on an educational problem besides the people we have just talked about? ENTER NAMES OR "7-NONE" IN COLUMN 2 OF NETWORK FORM. DO NOT INCLUDE NAMES OF MEMBERS OF ACTION SET. ASK A AND B ABOUT EACH NAME

   A. How did you first meet (NAME)? ENTER ANSWER IN COLUMN 3.

   B. Do you share any activities with her/him? ENTER ACTIVITIES OR "NONE" INCOLUMN 4.

   DRAW A LINE UNDER NAME OF LAST PERSON DISCUSSED

   SKIP TO Q. 9

---

8. Please think back to the time just before you got involved in the __________________ issue. Who would you have been likely to turn to for support on an education matter if you had wanted to influence the administration or the school board? ENTER NAMES OR 12-NONE IN COLUMN 2 OF NETWORK FORM. ASK A AND B ABOUT EACH NAME.

   A. How did you first meet (NAME)? ENTER ANSWER IN COLUMN # 3.

   B. Did you share any activities with this person (SUCH AS BELONG TO THE SAME CHURCH/TEMPLE OR USE THE SAME PEDIATRICIAN)? ENTER ACTIVITIES OR "NONE" IN COLUMN 4.

   DRAW LINE UNDER NAME OF LAST PERSON DISCUSSED

---

9. Between the time you started working on the issue with the group (OR OTHERS) and the time (THE ISSUE WAS RESOLVED, YOU LEFT THE GROUP OR________________________) did you add any new names to the list of people you could count on for support for an education issue?

   Yes.............(ASK A AND B) 1

   No 2

   A. What were their names? ENTER NAMES IN COLUMN 2 AND FOR EACH NAME ASK B AND C

   B. How did you first meet (NAME)? ENTER ANSWER IN COLUMN 3.

   C. Did you share any activities with this pesson? ENTER ANSWER IN COLUMN 4.

10. Here's a list of all the people you've mentioned. (ASK A AND B)

A. Would you look it over and tell me which of these people knew each other--as far as you know.

(HAND R THE LIST. PLACE A "1" to indicate "knew each other.")

B. Were they close friends? People who do things together socially--like meet for lunch or invite each other to parties? (If yes, CIRCLE THE "1")

1.																	
2.																	
3.																	
4.																	
5.																	
6																	
7.																	
8.																	
9.																	
10.																	
11.																	
12.																	
13.																	
14.																	
15.																	
16.																	
17.																	
18.																	
19.																	

11. In connection with the ________________ issue, can you recall how you first heard about the problem, or how you got involved with the problem? 51/

---

12. Did you try to do anything about the ______________ issue on your own before you got involved with the group?

Yes.........(ASK A AND B)..1 52/

No......................... 2

A. What did you do? 53/

B. What happened? 54/

---

13. Did you do anything about this issue on your own after you got involved with the group?

Yes ...... (ASK A AND B) .. 1 55/

No 2

A. What did you do? 56/

B. What happened? 57/

---

14. Who brought you into the group? What was the date?

Name____________________ Date ____________

A. How did you first meet (him/her) _______________ 58/

B. Would you say that (he/she) is a close friend of yours?

Yes...................... 1

No 2 59/

15. Here's a list of the people we understand worked together on the ________________ issue. ASK A-F OF EVERYBODY.

A. Do you see all these people as belonging to the group? IF NOT, ASK FOR NAMES R DID NOT KNOW OR DOES NOT THINK BELONGS TO THE GROUP. CHECK NAMES R DID NOT KNOW ABOUT IN ROW 1.

CHECK NAMES R DOES NOT THINK BELONG IN THE GROUP IN ROW 2.

B. Have we left anyone out who you think belonged in the group? ADD THESE NAMES AFTER LAST NAME IN MATRIX

C. Did you know any of these people before the group got started?

Yes........(ASK D and E).. 1

No 2 60/

D. IF YES: Who were they, how did you first meet them . RECORD BELOW

E. Were any of them close friends of yours, that is people you did things with socially like meet for lunch or invite to your home for parties. RECORD BELOW

NAME	How Met	Close Friend

F. Did you become good friends with any other members of the group after you joined the group? That is, people you did things with socially? RECORD NAMES BELOW:

NAME

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

16. Would you look over the list of names again. Were any of them--that you know of--good friends outside of the group? (PUT A "1" IN ROWS FOR PAIRS WHO ARE GOOD FRIENDS)

(MATRIX OF GROUP GOES HERE. INTERVIEWER TAPES MATRIX TO PAGE--SINCE EACH GROUP IS DIFFERENT.)

17. A. When you first got involved with the ____________________ issue, how important was the issue to you -- very important or only somewhat important?

Very important 1

Somewhat important 2 61/

Other (SPECIFY)________________________3

B. What about now--is it very important or only somewhat important?

Very important..................1

Somewhat important..............2

Other (SPECIFY)________________3 62/

---

18. Who did you see as making most of the decisions about the group's strategy and goals? (ENTER NAMES)

1.____________________ 63/

2.____________________ 64/

3.____________________ 65/

4.____________________ 66/

67/

---

19. In connection with the ______________________ issue, were there ever any major differences within the group over strategy or goals?

Yes .... (ASK A) 1

No 2

A. IF YES: What were these differences over strategy or goals and who supported each position?

	POSITION	SUPPORTERS	
1.			68/
			69-76/
			BEGIN DECK 02
2.			11/
			12-19/
3.			
4.			

20. Is there any one person or persons that you (saw/see) as the leader(s) of the group?

Yes.....(ASK A)........... 1

No......... .... 2 20/

A. IF YES: What are their names

1.______________________ 21/

2.______________________ 22/

3.______________________ 23/

4.______________________ 24/

---

21. What do you see as the major reason for the other parents being active in this group? 25/-29/

---

22. When you think about the other mothers who (have been/were) active in this group, do you see them as more involved now in education affairs than they were when the group was first started or less involved in education affairs?

More involved.......(ASK A)... 1 30/

Less involved.......(ASK A)... 2

Same level of involvement 3

Some are more and some are less ....(ASK A)

Other ......(ASK A IF CHANGE PERCEIVED)

A. IF MORE INVOLVED OR LESS INVOLVED: How do you account for the change? 31/

23. Is there any one person or persons whose involvement in the group you see as critical? For example, without that person, nothing would have happened--or the outcome would have been very different?

Yes.....(ASK A)........... 1

No........ .... 2 32/

A. IF YES: What are their names and what do you think their contribution has been?

1. Name	Contribution	
1. ______	______	33-34
2. ______	______	35-36/
3. ______	______	37-38/
4. ______	______	39-40/
5. ______	______	41/42/

---

24. Which people do you see as responsible for most of the work done by the group? LIST NAMES. WHEN ALL NAMES HAVE BEEN GIVEN, ASK B FOR EACH

A. Name	B. What did (NAME) do?	
1. ______	______	43-44/
	______	
	______	
2. ______	______	45-46/
	______	
	______	
3. ______	______	47-48/
	______	
	______	49-50
4. ______	______	51-52/
	______	
	______	

25. What do you see as your own most important contribution to this group? 53/

A. Did this require any special type or types of expertise? 54-58/

---

26. Are there any persons you think adversely affected the group's performance?

Yes.......... (ASK A) 1

No........................ 2 59/

A. IF YES: What are their names and how do you think they adversely affect the group's performance?

Name How affected group 60-70/

---

27. How would you rate the effectiveness of this group in connection with the _______________ issue--very effective, moderately effective, now very effective or not at all effective?

Very effective 1

Mdderately effective 2

Not very effective 3

Not at all effective 4 71/

A. ASK EVERYONE: Why do you think the group was (RESPONSE TO Q.27) 72-76/

BEGIN DECK 03

28. If you had the whole thing to do over again--in connection with the ________________ issue, is there anything you'd do differently? That is, you as an individual?

Yes ..... (ASK A) ...1

No 2 11/

A. IF YES What would you have done differently 12-16/

---

29. What about the group, do you think the group would have been better off with some other strategy?

yes ..... (ASK A &B) . 1

No 2 17/

A. What other strategy do you think the group should have adopted? 18-19/

B. Do you know if any other members would agree with you on this?

Yes ... (ASK C) 1

No.................. 2 20/

C. What percent of the group's members do you think would agree with you? 21/

---

30. FOR Rs WHO DROPPED OUT OF THE GROUP: Why did you end your involvement in the group? 21-22/

30. (Continued)

A. Is the issue/problem still important to you even though you dropped out of the group?

Yes 1

No 2 23/

---

31. Please try to estimate the amount of time you spent working with the group on this issue. 24/

---

32. Do you think the size of a group makes a difference in what happens to the group?

Yes ... (ASK A)..... 1

No 2 25/

A. In what ways does the size make a difference? 26-30/

---

33. Do you think your participating in this group has changed the way that people in the school treat your own children? (REFERS TO TEACHERS AND OTHER SCHOOL PERSONNEL)

Yes .... (ASK A).... 1

No 2 31/

A. In what ways has your participation affected the way your children are treated? 32-36/

34. Were any fathers ever involved with the group?

Yes ....(ASK A) 1

No ....2 (SKIP TO Q. 35) 37/

IF FATHERS NOT INVOLVED AT BEGINNING:

A. /Was there any change in the group's direction or strategy when the fathers got involved?

Yes.....(ASK B) 1

No 2 38/

B. What changes happened after the fathers got involved?

39-44/

---

35. IF NO TO Q. 34: Was there any specific reason for not involving fathers?

Yes ...(ASK A) 1

No 2 45/

A. What was the reason or reasons? 46-50/

---

36. Besides any parents you brought into the group, did you try to get any other parents to join but were unsuccessful?

Yes ...(ASK A) 1

No 2 51/

A. How do you account for your lack of success in getting others to join? 52-54/

37. At the time you joined this group, did you belong to any other local organizations (civic, political, religious, service, neighborhood, etc.)?

55/

Yes (ASK A & B).............. 1
No........................... 2

IF YES:

A. What organizations did you belong to? ENTER NAME(S) IN CHART BELOW. DRAW A LINE AFTER THE LAST NAME MENTIONED.

B. Did you ever hold any offices in (NAME EACH ORGANIZATION)? ENTER OFFICE(S) OR "NONE" FOR EACH ORGANIZATION IN "POSITION" COLUMN.

Organization/Group	Position
1. ______________________	1. ______________
2. ______________________	2. ______________
3. ______________________	3. ______________
4. ______________________	4. ______________
5. ______________________	5. ______________
6. ______________________	6. ______________
7. ______________________	7. ______________

---

38. Did you join any other local organizations after you joined the (GROUP)?

Yes (ASK A & B).............. 1
No........................... 2

IF YES:

A. What organizations did you join? ENTER NAME(S) IN CHART ABOVE.

B. Did you ever hold any offices in (NAME EACH ORGANIZATION)? ENTER OFFICE(S) OR "NONE" FOR EACH ORGANZATION IN "POSITION" COLUMN.

56/76

BEGIN DECK 04

39. What about organizations outside of this school district? At the time you joined this group, did you belong to any outside organizations?

Yes ...(ASK A & B) . 1

No 2 11/

IF YES:

A. What outside organizations did you belong to? ENTER NAME(S) IN CHART BELOW. DRAW A LINE AFTER THE LAST NAME MENTIONED.

B. Did you ever hold any offices in (NAME EACH ORGANIZATION)? ENTER OFFICE(S) OR "NONE" FOR EACH ORGANIZATION IN "POSITION" COLUMN.

12-32/

Organization/Group	Position
1. ______________________	1. ______________ ______________
2. ______________________	2. ______________ ______________
3. ______________________	3. ______________ ______________
4. ______________________	4. ______________ ______________
5. ______________________	5. ______________ ______________
6. ______________________	6. ______________ ______________
7. ______________________	7. ______________ ______________

40. Did you join any other outside organizations after you joined the (GROUP)?

Yes ...(ASK A & B).. 1

No 2 33/

IF YES

A. What organizations did you join? ENTER NAME(S) IN CHART ABOVE

B. Did you ever hold any offices in (NAME EACH ORGANIZATION)? ENTER OFFICE(S) OR "NONE" FOR EACH ORGANIZATION IN "POSITION" COLUMN. 34/54

41. Have any of the other organizations you belong to supported the ____________________ issue or provided any help to your group?

Yes .. (ASK A & B) . 1

No ,................. 2 55/

A. Which groups were supportive? ENTER NAME OF GROUP IN TABLE BELOW AND FOR EACH GROUP ASK B.

B. What kind of help did they provide?

Group	Type of Support/Help	56-66/

42. IF GROUP HAD FORMAL COMMITTEE OR FORMAL POSITIONS: Were you ever on the steering committee--or did you hold any office in the group?

Yes .... (ASK A) 1

No 2 67/

A. IF YES: What were the positions you held and when did you hold them?

	Position	Dates	
1.	____________________	________________	68-72/
			BEGIN DECK 05
2.	____________________	________________	11-15/
3.	____________________	________________	16-20/

---

43. Here's a list of school board members who were in office during the time the group was involved in the ________________ issue. Have you personally known any of these people outside of school issues--that is, were any of them neighbors or people you met at social events? HAND CARD TO R.

Yes ...... (ASK A) 1

No 2 21/

A. IF YES: Which ones did you know? RECORD NAME IN TABLE BELOW AND FOR EACH NAME ASK B AND C.

B. How did you meet him/her?

C. Did you ever discuss the ________________ issue with him/her outside of a meeting with the group?

	Name of Board Member	How met/known	Discussed Issue		
			Yes	No	
1.	____________________	____________	1	2	22-26/
2.	____________________	____________	1	2	27-31/
3.	____________________	____________	1	2	32-34/
4.	____________________	____________	1	2	37-41/

44. Did you ever contact a school board member about an issue other than the one this group has been involved with?

Yes 1

No 2 42/

---

45. What about the superintendent, Dr. Norwood. Have you ever contacted him directly about the group's issue--outside of the meetings the group may have held with him?

Yes 1

No 2 43/

---

46. Have you ever contacted Dr. Norwood about another issue?

Yes 1

No 2 44/

---

47. Have you ever discussed a school problem with a principal--other than things related to your own child's (rens') education?

Yes 1

No 2 45/

---

48. Have there been teachers in your childrens' schools that you ever discussed school problems with--other than your own child's (rens') education?

Yes ....(ASK A) 1

No 2 46/

A. IF YES: Which schools?

Central 1 47/
Chatsworth 2
Mamaroneck Avenue 3
Murray 4

Hommocks 5 48/

High School 6 49/

49. What's your primary source of information about the schools in this district? (READ CATEGORIES AND CIRCLE ONE)

PTA 1

School Board 2

Teachers and other school personnel
in schools attended by my children 3

Other parents 4

THE DAILY TIMES 5

Central Administrators ... 6

Other (SPECIFY) 7 50/

---

50. When you think about this school district as a whole, are there any groups or types of people you see as "running" the school district--or having the most influence on how the schools are run?

Yes ..(ASK A and B) 1

No 2 51/

A. IF YES: Which groups or types of people do you see as running things or having the most influence?

52-56/

B. In addition to these groups or types of people, are there any other groups that you see as important in school decisions--groups that have some influence in things?

Yes .... (ASK C) .. 1

No 2 57/

C. IF YES: Which groups?

58-61/

51. When you think about the organizations and social groups that people belong to in this school district, are there any that you would not be able to join?

Yes .. (ASK A) 1

No 2 62/

A. What are the groups and why would you be excluded?

Group	Reason for exclusion

63-73/

B. IF GROUP(S) NOT MENTIONED IN RESPONSE TO Q. 50:
Do you think that (the group/any of the groups) we just discussed (is/are) important in school affairs?

Yes 1

BEGIN DECK 06

No 2 11-15/

---

52. Are there any groups that you could belong to, but don't, that you think are important in school affairs? (PROBE FOR WHY RESPONDENT DOES NOT BELONG) 16-20/

---

53. Have any groups in this community actually opposed your group on the __________________ issue?

Yes .....(ASK A) 1

No 2 21/

A. IF ACTUAL OPPOSITION: Which groups? 22-26/

54.(Do/did) you see any groups as likely to oppose your group in connection with the ________________ issue?

Yes .... (ASK A) 1

No 2 27/

A. IF YES: Which groups? 28-31/

---

55. Were there any groups in this community that supported your group on the ________________ issue?

Yes ... (ASK A) 1 32/

No 2

A. Which groups and what kind of support did they give you?
LIST NAME OF EACH GROUP AND TYPE OF SUPPORT

Group	Type of Support
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

33-43/

---

56. (Were/are) there any groups in the community that you perceive(d) as likely to support your group's issue?

Yes ....(ASK A) 1

No 2 44/

A. Did you or anyone else in your group try to contact anyone in these groups about the ________________ issue?

Yes ... ASK B) 1

No 2 45/

57. B. IF ANOTHER GROUP WAS CONTACTED What group(s) did you or another member contact and what were the results?

	Group contacted	Results	
1.			46-56/
2.			
3.			
4.			

58. Did you ever contact anyone at the State Education Department about the ______________ issue?

Yes ......(ASK A AND B) .. 1

No 2 57/

A. IF YES: Who did you contact?

B. What was the result of the contact?

	A. Person Contacted	B. What Happened	
1.			58-68/
2.			
3.			
4.			

59. What about the State Legislature--did you ever contact anyone at that level about the ______________ issue?

Yes ..... (ASK A, B AND C) .. 1

No 2 69/

60. A. What was the position of the person you contacted?

B. Did you know that person before you contacted him/her?
IF KNOWN: How did you know him/her? (KNOWN: R had met previously)

C. What was the nature of the contact or what type of help did you ask for?

A. POSITION OF CONTACT	B. Known Yes	 No	HOW KNOWN	C. NATURE OF CONTACT/ HELP RECEIVED
1.	1	2		
2.	1	2		
3.	1	2		
4.	1	2		

11-31/

61. IF NO PERSON KNOWN OR CONTACTED IN STATE LEGISLATURE:
Do you know anyone who could get you an introduction to a State legislator?

Yes ... (ASK A) 1 32/

No 2

A. How do you know (relationship) that person? 33-34/

62. How about the federal level, do you know anyone at that level who would help you with an educational issue--not necessarily the issue this group was/is concerned with--but any educational issue.

Yes ..... (ASK A) 1 35/

No 2

A. What is that person(s) position, how do you know him/her, and what type of help could you obtain?

POSITION	HOW KNOWN	POSSIBLE HELP
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		

36/

63. IF NO TO Q. 62: Do you know anyone who could get you an introduction to a federal official or legislator?

Yes .... (ASK A)....... 1 37/
No 2

A. How do you know that person(s)?

38-39/

---

64. Did you ever receive, as an individual or as a member of an organization, any information about education directly from either the state or federal level?

Yes ... (ASK A) 1 40/
No 2

A. What kind of informatinn was it and how did you get it?

41-45/

TYPE OF INFORMATION	STATE	FEDERAL	HOW RECEIVED

---

65. Now we'd like to discuss your personal expectations of the schools. When you first enrolled your children in this school district, what were the things you expected the school to be responsible for ? 50

(IF TIME IS RUNNING OUT AND R SEEMS TO WANT TO SPEND ALOT OF TIME ON THIS Q. ASK IF WE CAN RETURN TO THIS LATER -- USE SAME PROCEDURE Q. 66-68)

51-61/

66. At that time, what did you consider to be the parents' responsibility?

62-72/

BEGIN DECK 08

67. In general, has the school lived up to your expectations?

11-14/

---

68. IF CHANGES IN R"S EXPECTATIONS NOT REFERRED TO ABOVE: Have your expectations changed? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

15-20/

69. The mothers in this community seem to have different attitudes about their role in school affairs. Here are five possible attitudes that we've discovered. ASK EVERYONE A-D. HAND R CARD.

A. Which of these did you agree with when you first enrolled a child? CIRCLE CHOICES IN COLUMN A.

B. Which describe your attitude now? CIRCLE CHOICES IN COLUMN B.

C. How do you think most parents you knew felt about this when you first enrolled a child? CIRCLE CHOICES IN COLUMN C.

D. How do you think most parents you know feel now? CIRCLE COLUMN D.

	A My attitude at first	B Attitude Now	C Most Parents at first	D Most Parents Now
a. Parents are really not qualified to have a say in the curriculum. This should be done by the professionals.	1	1	1	1
b. Parents should just be concerned about their own childrene's schooling	2	2	2	2
c. It's OK for parents to organize--but it should be within the PTA (or other school channel)	3	3	3	3
d. It's OK for parents to organize outside the school system.	4	4	4	4
e. It's OK for parents to protest by voting against the school budget.	5	5	5	5
f. It's OK for parents to engage in boycotts against the school.	6	6	6	6

21-46/

70. Studies of educational decision-making usually include four areas: budget planning, curriculum development, personnel selection, and contract negotiations. How much influence do you feel parents in this school district now have in (NAME EACH AREA): a great deal, some, a little or none?

	Great Deal	Some	Very Little	None	47-50/
Budget planning	1	2	3	4	
Curriculum development	1	2	3	4	
Personnel selection	1	2	3	4	
Contract negotiations	1	2	3	4	

71. Do you find that school affairs are a frequent topic of conversation in the social groups that you belong to, an occasional topic, or an infrequent topic?

Frequent topic.....	1	51/
Occasional topic ..	2	
Infrequent topic ..	3	

72. Do most of your best friends--the people you feel really close to--live in this community or outside this community?

Most best friends are in the community	1	52/
Most best friends are outside community ... (ASK A)...	2	

A. IF MOST BEST FRIENDS ARE OUTSIDE COMMUNITY: Where are these close friends located: In New York City, in other nearby suburbs, or elsewhere in the country?

New York City	1	53/
Other nearby suburbs	2	
Elsewhere (ASK B)	3	
Scattered between New York Ctiy and nearby suburbs ...	4	

B. IF ELSEWHERE: Where or how far away are they? 54/

73. How much of your purely social activities take place in this community--almost all, about 75%, about 50%, about 25% or less than 25%?

Almost all	1
About 75%	2
About 50%	3
About 25%	4
Less than 25%	5

---

74. On the whole, how happy are you with living here? Would you say you're very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy living in this community?

Very happy	1
Pretty happy	2
Not too happy	3

---

75. IF R IS MARRIED: How happy do you think your husband is about living in this community--very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?

Very happy	1
Pretty happy	2
Not too happy	3

---

76. How often do you attend the following types of meetings? FOR R NO LONGER WITH SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN: How often did you attend these meetings when your children were in school? Frequently, occasionally, rarely or never? (FIRST/NEXT....)

	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
PTA meetings	1	2	3	4
Selection Committee meetings	1	2	3	4
School Board meetings	1	2	3	4

77. Here's a list of the various committees connected with this school system--they cover the period between 1970 and the present. We'd like to know which ones you were a member of and if you held a leadership position in any of them.

Committee	School	Member	Position	Date	
PTA					61-66/ 67-71/ 72-76/

BEGIN DECK 09

Committee	School	Member	Position	Date	
Educational Goals					11-15/
Redesign					16-20/
CAPC					21-25/
78-79 Budget					26-30/
School Board Selection Committee					31-33/
Other					34-38/

78. IF R IS MARRIED: Did your husband participate as a member or hold an office in any of these committees?

Committee	School	Member	Position	Date	
PTA					39-44/
Educational Goals					45-49/
Redesign					50-55/
CAPC					56-60/
78-79 Budget					61-65/
School Board Selection Committee					66-70/
Other					71-76/

79. Is there anything we haven't covered about your group or the issue that you think is important to consider? ________ 11/

Yes ...(ASK A) 1

No 2

A. What would you like to add? 12-14/

INTERVIEWER SHOULD FILL OUT AS MANY OF FOLLOWING AS POSSIBLE. ASK R WHERE YOU DO NOT HAVE ANSWERS.

80. Marital status

Now married 1 16/
Widowed 2
Divorced 3
Separated 4

---

81. R's occupation (if applicable) ____________________________ 14-18/

---

82. IF MARRIED: Spouse's occupation____________________________ 19-20/

---

83. Does R lives in own house, rent house or live in apartment? 21/

Own house 1
Rents house 2
Apartment 3

---

84. Number of children (ever had) 22/

One 1
Two 2
Three 3
Four 4
Five 5
Six 6
More than 6 7

85. Elementary school(s) attended by children 23-24/

Central	1
Chatsworth	2
Mamaroneck Ave.	3
Murray	4
More than one of above	5

---

86. Highest grade of school completed? 25-26/

____

---

87. Religious affiliation________________ 27-32/

Member (church or temple) ________________

Active in Womens Division?_______________

---

88. Ethnicity/race 33-34/

---

89. Age category: (present) 35/

25-29	1
30-34	2
35-39	3
40-44	4
45-49	5
50-54	6
55 or over	7

TIME ENDED: ____________ AM PM

APPENDIX B-2

PERSONAL NETWORK FORM

Page _____ of ____ Pages

Respondent________________________

Group__________

PERSONAL NETWORK FORM I

1. Issue	2. Name of Contact	3. How Met	4. Shared Activities

APPENDIX B-3

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ADMINISTRATORS & SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

CONFIDENTIAL **BEGIN DECK 01**

Study 4289
July 1980

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

SOCIAL NETWORK STUDY

CASE NUMBER: ☐ - ☐☐☐☐ 01-05

DATE OF INTERVIEW 06-09

INTERVIEW GUIDE

ADMINISTRATORS
SCHOOL BOARD
MEMBERS

Time Began: ______________ AM PM

NAME: ______________

ASK SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS:

1. In what year did you move into this school district?

ASK ADMINISTRATORS:

1. In what year did you begin working in this district?

RECORD YEAR: | 1 | 9 | | | 16-17/

Lived here all my life 00

---

2. We have a list of reasons people have given for choosing to live in a community. We're interested in the reasons you think most residents decide to move into this area. For each, please tell me how important you think it is to people who move here--very important, somewhat important, or not important. (First/next)...(CODE ONE ON EACH LINE)

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important	Don't know	
A. The quality of public schools	1	2	3	8	18/
B. The general appearance of the streets, grounds, and buildings in the area	1	2	3	8	19/
C. The reputation of the community	1	2	3	8	20/
D. The safety of the community	1	2	3	8	21/
E. The convenience of the community to place of employment	1	2	3	8	22/
F. The convenience of public transportation	1	2	3	8	23/
G. The likelihood that property values will go up	1	2	3	8	24/
H. Having neighbors of your own race	1	2	3	8	25/
I. Having neighbors of your own income bracket	1	2	3	8	26/
J. Good quality housing for the money	1	2	3	8	27/
K. Recreation facilities	1	2	3	8	28/
L. Any other reasons (SPECIFY):					
______________	1	2			29/
______________	1	2			30/
______________	1	2			31/

3. Now, we'd like to know how satisfied you think most residents are at the present time with each of the following. . . do you think they are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. (First/next...CODE ONE ON EACH LINE)

	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dis-satisfied	Very dis-satisfied	Don't know	
A. The quality of public schools	1	2	3	4	8	32/
B. The general appearance of streets, grounds, and buildings in the area	1	2	3	4	8	33/
C. The reputation of the community	1	2	3	4	8	34/
D. The safety of the community	1	2	3	4	8	35/
E. The convenience of the community to place of employment	1	2	3	4	8	36/
F. The convenience of public transportation	1	2	3	4	8	37/
G. The likelihood that property values will go up	1	2	3	4	8	38/
H. The racial make-up of the community	1	2	3	4	8	39/
I. The income level of the neighbors	1	2	3	4	8	40/
J. The quality of housing for the money	1	2	3	4	8	41/
K. Recreation facilities	1	2	3	4	8	42/
L. Other (IF ANY MENTIONED IN Q. 2)						
______________	1	2	3	4		43/
______________	1	2	3	4		44/
______________	1	2	3	4		45/

4. What percent of the parents in this district--as a whole-- do you see as active in school affairs? First we'd like to have your estimate of those active in relation to the budget--then your estimate of parents active in relation to the school program.

	Active in Budget	Active in Program	46/
A. About 5%	1	1	
B. About 10%	2	2	
C. About 20%	3	3	47/
D. About 25%	4	4	
E. About 30%	5	5	
F. About 50%	6	6	
G. About 60%	7	7	
H. About 75%	8	8	
I. Other (RECORD BELOW)	9	9	

Other estimate: ____________ 48/

FOR ADMINISTRATORS

5. What percent of the parents in this school do you see as active in relation to the school program? 49/

A. About 5% 1
B. About 10% 2
C. About 20% 3
D. About 25% 4
E. About 30% 5
F. About 50% 6
G. About 60% 7
H. About 75% 8
I. Other (Specify)____________ 50/

ASK EVERYBODY

6. How would you describe the parents who are active in the school program? That is, what qualities do you associate with them? (Probes: Do they tend to be active in the PTA; members of community organizations, etc. Are there differences between parents active in relation to budget and those active in program?) 51-52/

---

7. Why do you think these parents are active in program issues? 53-54/

8. As I mentioned before, 6 of the parent groups included in our study are in this school district. For each group, we'd like to know if you were involved in the issue--or if you knew about it-- if you remember what the parents wanted and if the issue had an impact on (YOUR SCHOOL/THE DISTRICT).

First, parents who wanted special programs for children with learning disabilities. Were you involved with this issue?

. Yes. . . . (ASK.A) . . . 1 55/

No. . . . (ASK C). . . 2

A. What role did you play in this issue (position at time) 56/

B. (IF R ATTENDED MEETINGS WITH THESE PARENTS) About how often did you meet with these parents? 57/

Dates (approximate: in years)________________ 58/

C. Did you know anything about this issue? Yes. . . . 1; No......2 59/
(IF YES, ASK D-G)

D. Do you remember what the parents wanted? (probe for specifics) 60/

E. How would you rate the effectiveness of these parents in connection with this issue--very effective, moderately effective, not very effective or not at all effective?

Very effective. 1

Moderately effective. 2

Not very effective 3

Not at all effective 4 61/

F. Why do you think the group was (RESPONSE TO "E") 62/

G. Did what this group accomplished have any direct or indirect effect on (YOUR SCHOOL/THE DISTRICT)? Yes.....1; No.......2 63/

IF YES: How did this affect (YOUR SCHOOL/DISTRICT): 64/

9. In the early 1970's, there was a group of parents who were active around Title I programs in this district. Were you involved in this issue?

Yes . . .(ASK A) . . . 1 65/

No . . .(ASK C). . . . 2

A. What role did you play in this issue (position at time and how issue affected him/her)? 66/

B. (I F R ATTENDED MEETINGS WITH THESE PARENTS) About how often did you meet with these parents? 67/

Time Period______________ 68/

C. Did you know anything about this issue? yes.....1; No......2 (IF YES, ASK D-G) 69/

D. Do you remember what the parents wanted? (probe for specifics based on your knowledge of the issue) 71/

BEGIN DECK 02

E. How would you rate the effectiveness of these parents in connection with this issue--very effective, moderately effective, not very effective or not at all effective?

Very effective. 1

Moderately effective. 2

Not very effective 3

Not at all effective. 4 11/

F. Why do you think the group was (RESPONSE TO E)? 12-13/

G. Did what this group accomplished have any direct or indirect effect on (YOUR SCHOOL/THE DISTRICT)? Yes. . . . 1; No. . . .2 14/

IF YES: How did this affect (YOUR SCHOOL/DISTRICT)? 15/

H. Did you see the parents active in this issue as representing the majority of parents whose children were served by these programs or just a small percent? 16/

Represented majority. 1
Small percent 2

10. Then there was the problem of the lunchroom program at the Chatsworth School. Were you involved in this issue?

Yes . . . .(ASK A). . . 1 17/

No . . . .(ASK C). . . 2

A. What role did you play in this issue (position at time and how issue affected him/her)? 18-19/

B. (IF R ATTENDED MEETINGS WITH PARENTS) About how often did you meet with these parents? 20/

Dates (approximate)________________ 21/

C. Did you know anything about this issue? Yes. . . . 1; No. . .2 22/
IF YES, ASK D-G)

D. Do you remember what the parents wanted? (probe for specifics based on your knowledge of the issue) 23/

E. How would you rate the effectiveness of these parents in connection with this issue--very effective, moderately effective, not very effective or not at all effective?

Very effective 1

Moderately effective 2

Not very effective 3

Not at all effective 4 24/

F. Why do you think the group was (RESPONSE TO E)? 25/

G. Did what this group accomplished have any direct or indirect effect on (YOUR SCHOOL/THE DISTRICT)? Yes. . . . 1; No. . . . 2 25/

IF YES: How did this affect (YOUR SCHOOL/DISTRICT)? 26/

H. Did you see the parents active in this issue as representing a substantial number of parents or just a small group? 27/

Substantial number. 1
Small group. 2
Other______________

11. What about the Open Classroom program at Murray Avenue School--were you involved in this issue?

Yes. . . . (ASK A). . . 1 28/

No . . . . (ASK C). . . 2

A. What role did you play in this issue (position at time and how issue affected him/her)? 29-30/

B. (IF R ATTENDED MEETINGS WITH PARENTS) About how often did you meet with these parents? 31/

Dates ______________________ 32/

C. Did you know anything about this issue? Yes. . . . 1; No. . .2 33/
(IF YES, ASK D-G)

D. Do you remember what the parents wanted? (probe for specifics based on your knowledge of the issue) 34/

E. How would you rate the effectiveness of these parents in connection with this issue--very effective, moderately effective, not very effective or not at all effective?

Very affective. 1

Moderately effective . . 2

Not very effective . . . 3

Not at all effective . . 4 35/

F. Why do you think the group was (RESPONSE TO E)? 36/

G. Did what this group accomplished have any direct or indirect effect on (YOUR SCHOOL/THE DISTRICT)? Yes. . . . 1; No. . . 2 37/

IF YES: How did this affect (YOUR SCHOOL/THE DISTRICT)? 38/

H. Did you see the parents active in this issue as representing a substantial number of Murray parents or just a small group? 39/

Substantial number..........1
Small group 2

12. There's a group called Operation Ahead. Have you been involved with any of the issues taken up by this group?

Yes . . . . (ASK A). . . . 1

No . . . . (ASK C). . . . 2 40/

A. What role did you play in this (these) issue(s)? (position at time and how issue affected him/her) 41-42/

B. (IF R ATTENDED MEETINGS WITH PARENTS) About how often did you meet with these parents? 43/

Dates_______________ 44/

C. Did you know anything about this issue? Yes. . . .1; No. . . .2 45/
(IF YES, ASK D-G)

D. Do you remember what the parents wanted? (probe for specifics based on your knowledge of the issue) 46-50/

E. How would you rate the effectiveness of these parents in connection with this (these) issue--very effective, moderately effective, not very effective or not at all effective?

Very effective. 1

Moderately effective. . . 2

Not very effective . . . 3

Not at all effective. . . 4 51/

F. Why do you think the group was (RESPONSE TO E)? 52/

G. Did what this group accomplished have any direct or indirect effect on (YOUR SCHOOL/THE DISTRICT)? Yes. . . .1; No. . . . 2 53/

IF YES: How did this affect (YOUR SCHOOL/THE DISTRICT)? 54/

H. Did you see this group as representing the black community in this school district or a narrow segment of that community? 55/
Representative of black community......1
Narrow segment..........................2
Other____________________

13. The last group included in our study was at the high school--the Parent Involvement Committee. Were you involved in the issues taken up by this group?

Yes. . . . (ASK A). . . 1
No . . . . (ASK C). . . 2 56/

A. What role did you play in this issue? (position at time and how issue affected him/her) 57-58/

B. (F R ATTENDED MEETINGS WITH PARENTS) About how often did you meet with these parents? 59/

Dates______________ 60/

C. Did you know anything about this issue? Yes. . . . 1; No......2 61/
(IF YES, ASK D-G)

D. Do you remember what the parents wanted? (probe for specifics) 62-63/

E. How would you rate the effectiveness of these parents in connection with this issue?

Very effective. 1
Moderately effective . . 2
Not very effective . . . 3
Not at all effective . . . 4 64/

F. Why do you think the group was (RESPONSE TO E)? 65/

G. Did what this group accomplished have any direct or indirect effect on (YOUR SCHOOL/THE DISTRICT)? Yes.....1; No......2 66/

IF YES: How did this affect (YOUR SCHOOL/THE DISTRICT)? 67-68/

H: Did you see this group as representing a cross section of high school parents or a narrow segment? 69/

Cross section. 1
Narrow segment 2
Other ______________

BEGIN DECK 03

14. (ASK THIS QUESTION FOR EACH GROUP WHERE R HAS NOT REFERRED TO A POLICY DECISION IN RESPONDING TO PREVIOUS QUESTIONS)

Is it your understanding that there was a policy decision in connection with: (CHECK APPROPRIATE COL.)

	1 YES	2 NO	
A. Learning Disabilities			11/
B. Title I			12/
C. Lunch Program			13/
D. Open Classroom Program			14/
E. Operation Ahead			15/
F. Parent Involvement Com.			16/

15. FOR SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS:

A. What is this district's policy on children with learning disabilities? 17/

B. What is the district's policy on lunch programs at the elementary schools? 18/

---

16. ASK ADMINISTRATORS:
What is the lunch room policy at this school? 19/

A. How is this policy being implemented? 20/

17. **ASK ADMINISTRATORS:**
What is the district policy in regard to children with learning disabilities? 21-22/

A. What services do you have in this school for children with learning disabilties who are mainstreamed? 23-26/

B. Are these services sufficient to meet the needs at this school

Yes. 1

No . . . (ASK C). . . . 2 27/

C. What additional services do you need at this school? 28-30/

ASK D:
D. What are you presently doing for the children for whom you do not have sufficient services? 31-32/

E. How many children do you have in the LD category in this school? 33/

F. How many children are there for whom you do not have sufficient services? 34/

---

18. The policies that we have been talking about--have you ever seen these policies in written form?

Yes. 1

No . . . . (ASK A) . 2 35/

A. Is it your understanding that these policies are written?

Yes 1

No 2 36/

ASK Rs who have been in district for 10 years:

19. Over the past 10 years, have you noticed any increase in the number of active parents in this district?

Yes. . (Ask.A) . . 1

No 2 37/

A. How do you explain this increase?

38-44/

---

20. Now we'd like your opinion on what makes an effective parent group.

Suppose a parent came to you concerned about a need that was not being met by the program (IN YOUR SCHOOL/IN THE DISTRICT)--what would you advise that parent to do? 45-50/

A. (IF ORGANIZATION NOT REFERRED TO ABOVE)
Would you advise the parent to organize a group of parents to work on the issue?

Yes. . .(ASK B). . . . 1

No 2 51/

B. What types of parents should be included in the group? 52-54/

D. What types of parents should be avoided? 55-57/

E. (IF PROFESSIONAL EDUCATORS ARE NOT MENTIONED IN RESPONSE TO D):
Do parents who are professional educators tend to be a problem?

Yes 1

No 2

Other 58/

---

21. Does the size of the group make a difference?

Yes. . . . (ASK A). . . . 1

No 2 59/

IF YES:
A: In what way(s) does the size of the group make a difference? 60/

22. What are the steps that a parent group can take that you think are most productive? 61-65/

---

23. What steps do you think are counterproductive? 66-70/

---

24. What if administrators or school board members tell the concerned parents that other parents in the district would not support what they want. What should they do in this case? BEGIN DECK 05

11-13/

---

25. Do you think parents believe that their activities in the school will affect the way their children are treated by the people in the school?

Yes. . . . (ASK A). . . . 1

No 2 14/

A. In what ways?

15/

---

26. Do you think the presence of fathers in the group makes a difference in the way a group is treated by school administrators and school board members? Yes. . . . . 1; No. 2 16/

IF YES: In what way? 17/

27. What do you think is the primary source of information for the active parents in this district? We'd like you to pick one of the following categories

PTA. 1

School Board 2

Teachers & other school personnel 3

Other parents 4

DAILY TIMES 5

Central Administrators . 6

Other (SPECIFY). 7

18/

---

28. In the past few years--with the increase in state and federal involvement in education-- some social scientist say that there's very little power left at the local school district level. Others see local school districts as maintaining quite a bit of power. What's your view of the situation here?

19/

---

29. Studies of educational decision-making usually include four areas: budget planning, curriculum development, personnel selection, and contract negotiations. How much influence do you feel parents in this school district now have in (NAME EACH AREA): a great deal, some, a little or none?

	Great Deal	Some	Very Little	None	
Budget planning	1	2	3	4	20/
Curriculum development	1	2	3	4	21/
Personnel selection	1	2	3	4	22/
Contract negotiations	1	2	3	4	23/

30. In this district, who has the most influence on decisions in these four areas: the school board, the superintendent, other administrators, Teachers or parents? (FIRST/NEXT)

	School Board	Sup't	Administrators	Teachers	Parents	
Budget planning	1	2	3	4	5	24/
Curriculum develop.	1	2	3	4	5	25/
Personnel selection	1	2	3	4	5	26/
Contsact negotiations	1	2	3	4	5	27/

31. When you think about this school district as a whole, are there any groups or types of people you see as "running" the school district--or having the most influence on how the schools are run?

Yes. . . . (ASK A and B). . . .1

No.. . . . . 2 28/

A. IF YES: Which groups or types of people do you see as running things or having the most influence? 29-32/

B. In addition to these groups or types of people, are there any other groups that you see as important in school decisions--groups that have some influence in things?

Yes. . . . (ASK C). . . 1

No 2 33/

C. IF YES: Which groups? 34-37/

---

32. As we understand it, a decentralized school district would be one where the administrators and teachers in each building would have a high degree of autonomy in decisions related to the curriculum and teaching methods, as compared to a centralized district where such decisions would be made primarily by the superintendent and his staff. How would you rate this school district in terms ot the degree of decentralization--or the amount of autonomy at the building level--a lot, quite a bit, some, a little or none.

1	2	3	4	5	
Hardly Any	A Little	Some	Quite a bit	A lot	38/

ASK ADM.

33. In this particular school, how much autonomy do teachers have in decisions related to the curriculum and teaching methods?

1	2	3	4	5	
Hardly Any	A little	Some	Quite a bit	A lot	39/

---

34. How much influence do you believe parents should have when it comes to the school program? By that we mean what is taught and how it is taught?

1	2	3	4	5	
Hardly Any	A little	Some	Quite a bit	A lot	40/

ASK PRINCIPALS

35. In what ways do the parents in this school participate in decisions related to the school program? (If he/she says PTA, ask what is done to involve other parents. Probe for procedures devised by the school administration to involve parents directly in this school) 41-43/

ASK PRINCIPALS IF NOT MENTIONED ABOVE:

36. Do you have any routine procedures to find out what kind of programs and teaching methods are preferred by the parents in this school?
Yes..........1; No. 2 44/

IF YES: What are they?

45/

---

37. Have you noticed any changes in the people moving into this school district since you've been working here (for school bd. members: LIVING HERE)?
Yes. . . . . 1 No. 2 46/

A. IF YES: How would you describe these changes 47/

B. Has this had any impact on the schools? 48/

---

38. What percent of the children in this (SCHOOL/DISTRICT) come from homes where the mothers work?

1	2	3	4		
Under 25%	25%	About 50%	About 60%	Other(SPECIFY)	49/

A. Have you noticed any change in this number in recent years?

Yes, an increase. . . . 1 (ASK B)

No. 2 50/

B. Has this had an impact on your school?

Yes. . . . . . 1; No. 1 51/

C. IF YES: How has this affected your school? 52/

39. ASK PRINCIPALS Have any school board members visited your school in the past year?

Yes. .(Ask A). . . 1 No. . . .2 53/

A. IF YES: Was this an individual board member or a group of board members?

Individual. 1

Group 2 54/

B. Were they interested in observing any particular program? 55/

Yes. 1

No 2

---

40. ASK BOARD MEMBERS: Have you visited any of the schools in this district in the past year to observe a classroom or program?

Yes . . . . 1 (ASK A)

No 2 56/

A. Which schools were involved?

57-58/

---

41. Do you see any major differences in the parent groups at different schools in this district?

Yes. . . . (ASK A). 1

No 2 59/

A. IF YES: How would you describe the differences 60-61/

---

42. Do you have any idea how many parents in this (SCHOOL/DISTRICT) belong to the PTA?

__________ Percent 62/

Doesn't Know. 9

FOR ADMINISTRATORS:

The next few questions--the last--get into personal things. Please feel free not to respond to any of these if you'd rather not.

43. ASK BOARD MEMBERS AND ADMINISTRATORS WHO LIVE IN THE DISTRICT:
Do most of your best friends--the people you feel really close to--live in this community or outside this community?

Most best friends are in the community. 1
Most best friends are outside community (ASK A). . .2 63/
Other (SPECIFY) ____________________

A: Where are these close friends located: In New York City, in other nearby suburbs or elsewhere in the country?

New York City. 1
Other nearby suburbs 2
Elsewhere 3
Scattered between NYC and nearby suburbs 4 64/

---

44. ASK BOARD MEMBERS AND ADMINISTRATORS WHO LIVE IN THE DISTRICT:
How much of your purely social actaivities take place in this community--almost all, about 75%, about 50%, about 25% or less than 25%?

1	2	3	4	5	
Almost all	About 75%	About 50%	About 25%	Less than 25%	65/

---

45. ASK ADMINISTRATORS WHO DO NOT LIVE IN THE DISTRICT:
To what extent do you socialize with people who live in this district? That is social activities not related to your role in the schools?

1	2	3	4	5	
Almost all	About 75%	About 50%	About 25%	Less than 25%	66/

---

46. How often do you attend the following types of meetings? Frequently, occasionally, rarely or never? (FIRST/NEXT....)

		Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	
	PTA	1	2	3	4	67/
	Selection Committee	1	2	3	4	68/
K ADM:	School Board	1	2	3	4	69/

BEGIN DECK 06

47. How many school age children do you have?

One. 1 11/
Two. 2
Three. 3
Four 4
Five 5
Six 6
More than 6. 7

48. Are they attending public schools or private?

Public. 1 12/

Private 2

Other 3

49. What is the last grade of schooling you completed?

____________________ 13/

50. Age category:

25-29 1
30-34 2
35-39 3
40-44 . . . . .4 14/
45-49 5
50-54 6
55 or over. 7

TIME ______________ AM
ENDED: PM

APPENDIX C-1:

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CHICAGO PARENTS

CONFIDENTIAL

4289
2/80

BEGIN DECK 01

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

Social Network Study

Case Number: ☐☐ ☐☐☐ 01-05/

06/R

INTERVIEW GUIDE

PARENTS

NAME: ______________________

TIME
INTERVIEW ______________ AM
BEGAN: PM

INTRODUCTION:

We're conducting a study of parent involvement in the public schools. We're especially interested in understanding different levels of parent participation in various communities. You and the other parents who participate in this study will be asked the same questions about your children's education and your views about parents working to improve their children's school programs.

The purpose of the study is to provide information for policy makers who are interested in improving parent-school relations. The study is being conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. When we write up the results, no personal or school names will be mentioned. We will be interviewing other parents in this neighborhood, people who work in the schools here, and community leaders.

1. In what year did you move into this neighborhood?

RECORD YEAR: 19 ☐☐ 07-08/

Lived here all
my life .. (SKIP TO Q. 3) .. 00

---

2. When you decided to move to this neighborhood, how important to you was the quality of the public schools? Was this very important, somewhat important, or not important?

Very important 1 09/
Somewhat important 2
Not important 3
Don't know 8

---

3. How satisfied are you--at the present time-- with the quality of education your children have received in the public schools here? Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

10/
Very satisfied 1
Somewhat satisfied 2
Somewhat dissatisfied 3
Very dissatisfied 4
Don't know 8

A. Why do you feel this way? RECORD VERBATIM.

11-12/

13-14/

4. How many children do you have under age 19 living at home with you? This includes adopted children, foster children, and children from a previous marriage.

RECORD NUMBER: ☐☐ 15-16/

We'd like to know the ages of the children and where they go to school. First, how old is the oldest child living at home with you? (RECORD AGE IN COLUMN A. IF 5 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER, ASK B. CONTINUE FOR REMAINING CHILDREN.) And the next to the oldest . . .

	A. Age of child (IF 5 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER, ASK B)		IF 5 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER, ASK: B. What is the name of the school this child attends?	
1.	________	17-18/	________________________	19-21/
2.	________	22-23/	________________________	24-26/
3.	________	27-28/	________________________	29-31/
4.	________	32-33/	________________________	34-36/
5.	________	37-38/	________________________	39-41/
6.	________	42-43/	________________________	44-46/
7.	________	47-48/	________________________	49-51/
8.	________	52-53/	________________________	54-56/

---

5. About how often do you go into the (NAME) elementary school? Almost every day, about once a week, about once a month, a couple times a year, or what?

Almost every day	4	57/
About once a week	3	
About once a month	2	
A couple of times a year	1	
Never	0	

---

6. Have you ever participated in a parent training program--for example, a program just for parents sponsored by the PTA, the local school council, or a federally-funded program?

Yes .... (ASK A)	1	58/
No	2	

A. IF YES: What did the training program(s) involve? RECORD VERBATIM.

59-60/

61-62/

7. We're interested in knowing if there is anyone else in your household who is regularly involved in your (child's/children's) education--that is, someone who attends meetings or conferences with the teachers, if you are unable to do these things?

Yes .... (ASK A) 1 63/
No 2

A. IF YES: How is that person related to the child? IF MORE THAN ONE PERSON NAMED, ASK FOR THE PERSON WHO IS MOST INVOLVED.

64-65/

---

8. Here's a list of events that go on in most schools. How often do you attend these events: frequently, occasionally, rarely, or never? HAND CARD A. (First/Next), . . . CODE ONE ON EACH LINE.

HAND CARD A

	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	
A. PTA meetings	3	2	1	0	66/
B. Local council meetings	3	2	1	0	67/
C. Parent meetings called by children's teachers	3	2	1	0	68/
D. Plays, concerts, or other programs given by your children	3	2	1	0	69/
E. Fund-raising events (cake sale, fair, etc.)	3	2	1	0	70/
F. Parent/teacher conferences	3	2	1	0	71/
G. School board meetings	3	2	1	0	72/

BEGIN DECK 02

9. Now I would like to ask about (PERSON NAMED IN Q. 7). How often does (PERSON) attend these events? (First/Next), . . . CODE ONE ON EACH LINE.

	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	
A. PTA meetings	3	2	1	0	07/
B. Local council meetings	3	2	1	0	08/
C. Parent meetings called by children's teachers	3	2	1	0	09/
D. Plays, concerts, or other programs given by your children	3	2	1	0	10/
E. Fund-raising events (cake sale, fair, etc.)	3	2	1	0	11/
F. Parent/teacher conferences	3	2	1	0	12/
G. School board meetings	3	2	1	0	13/

10. Do you belong to any parent council or councils in this school? This can include the PTA, a local school council, a bilingual or Title I parent advisory council, or any other council.

Yes .... (ASK A-G) 1 14/
No .... (GO TO Q. 11) 2

IF YES, ASK A-G:
A. Which council(s) do you belong to? HAND CARD B. CODE ALL THAT APPLY.

HAND
CARD
B

PTA 1 15/
Local school council 2 16/
Bilingual PAC 3 17/
Title I PAC 4 18/
Other (SPECIFY)
______________________________ 5 19/

B. Why did you join the council(s)?

20-21/

10. (Continued)

C. How often does the (NAME EACH COUNCIL GIVEN IN Q. 10A) meet? ENTER NAME OF EACH COUNCIL IN COLUMN 1 AND FREQUENCY OF MEETING PER MONTH IN COLUMN 2.

	COLUMN 1: Name of Council		COLUMN 2: Frequency of Meetings per Month	
1)	______________________	22/	____________	23-24/
2)	______________________	25/	____________	26-27/
3)	______________________	28/	____________	29-30/

D. How much time do you spend each month on parent council activities? About half a day or less, about one day, two or three days, about one week, or more than one week each month?

About half a day or less	1	31/
About one day	2	
Two or three days	3	
About one week	4	
More than one week (SPECIFY) ______________________	5	

E. How are the parents who chair the council(s) you belong to selected? Do the parents elect the chairperson, or does the principal or someone else in the school select the parent chairperson? First, the PTA: how is the chairperson in that council selected? Next, . . . NAME EACH COUNCIL. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ON EACH LINE

Name of Council		Parents elect chairperson	Someone else selects chairperson	
1) ______________________	32/	1	2	33/
2) ______________________	34/	1	2	35/
3) ______________________	36/	1	2	37/

F. Have you participated in the selection or election of parent chairpersons for any of these councils?

Yes	1	38/
No	2	

G. Have you ever held any office(s) in these councils?

Yes	1	39/
No	2	

11. Do you have any friends who are members of a parent council in this school?

Yes	1	40/
No	2	

IF PARENTS HAVE ATTENDED PTA OR OTHER PARENT COUNCIL MEETINGS FREQUENTLY, OCCASIONALLY, OR RARELY (REFER TO Q. 8), ASK Q. 12:

12. How would you rate the council meetings you have attended in terms of the level of interest to parents who are not officers? Are they . . . READ CATEGORIES AND CODE ONE.

Usually very interesting	3	41/
Usually somewhat interesting	2	
Usually not very interesting	1	

A. Why do you find the meetings (READ RESPONSE TO Q. 12)? RECORD VERBATIM.

42-43/

44-45/

IF PARENT DOES NOT ATTEND PARENT COUNCIL MEETINGS (REFER TO Q. 8) ASK Q. 13:

13. Why do you not attend meetings for parents? CODE ALL THAT APPLY.

I work	1	46/
I have young children at home	2	47/
I'm not interested	3	48/
They're a waste of time	4	49/
Other (SPECIFY) ____________________	5	50/

---

14. How good a job are the parent leaders doing to get information about the educational programs going on in this school? Are they doing an excellent, good, fair, or poor job? CODE ONE.

Excellent	4	51/
Good	3	
Fair	2	
Poor	1	

---

15. What is your main source of information about the school? Is it . . . READ CATEGORIES AND CODE ONE.

PTA	01	52-53/
Local school council	02	
Teachers	03	
Principal	04	
Other parents	05	
My own children	06	
Newspaper	07	
Other (SPECIFY) ____________________	08	

16. How much contact do you have with the principal in the school?

A great deal ..... (ASK A)	4	54/
Some .... (ASK A)	3	
A little .... (ASK A)	2	
None	1	

A. What kinds of contacts are these? CODE ALL THAT APPLY.

At meetings	1	55/
Conferences	2	56/
In the hall	3	57/
Other (SPECIFY) ______________________	4	58/

---

17. A. Here's a list of qualities that describe principals. Which of these describe the principal in the school? HAND CARD C. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ON EACH LINE.

HAND CARD C

	Yes	No	
1) Wants parent participation in school program	1	0	59/
2) Friendly	1	0	60/
3) Helpful to parents	1	0	61/
4) Interested in children	1	0	62/
5) Businesslike	1	0	63/

B. And which of these qualities describe the majority of teachers in the school

	Yes	No	
1) Want parent participation in school program	1	0	64/
2) Friendly	1	0	65/
3) Helpful to parents	1	0	66/
4) Interested in children	1	0	67/
5) Businesslike	1	0	68/

---

18. Do you feel welcome in this school?

Yes	1	69/
No	2	

A. Why do you feel (welcome/unwelcome)? RECORD VERBATIM.

70-71/

19. Studies of educational decision-making usually include four areas: budget planning, curriculum development, personnel selection, and contract negotiations. How much influence do you think parents in this school system have in each area: a great deal, some, a little, or none? (First/Next), in . . . READ EACH CATEGORY AND CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ON EACH LINE.

	Great deal	Some	A little	None	
A. Budget planning	3	2	1	0	07/
B. Curriculum development	3	2	1	0	08/
C. Personnel selection	3	2	1	0	09/
D. Contract negotiations	3	2	1	0	10/

20. How much influence do you think parents should have in the four decision areas? Do you think parents should have a great deal, some, a little, or no influence? (First/Next), in . . .

	Great deal	Some	A little	None	
A. Budget planning	3	2	1	0	11/
B. Curriculum development	3	2	1	0	12/
C. Personnel selection	3	2	1	0	13/
D. Contract negotiations	3	2	1	0	14/

21. What about your own children's classroom placement. Would you say that you have a great deal, some, very little, or no influence in your children's class placement?

A great deal	3	15/
Some	2	
Very little	1	
None	0	

22. Do you think the meetings for parents in this school provide parents with adequate opportunity to have a say in the curriculum here?

Yes	1	16/
No	0	

23. Have you been doing anything to influence what happens in (NAME OF SCHOOL SYSTEM) in relation to a specific problem?

Yes .... (ASK A-C) 1 17/

No .... (SKIP TO Q. 24) 2

A. Would you tell me what problem you have been working on? IF MORE THAN ONE, PROBE: Which one would you consider most important? (ASK RESPONDENT TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS IN RELATION TO THAT MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE.)

18-19/

B. What kinds of things have you been doing about this problem?

20-21/

22-23/

C. Are you working with anyone else on this?

Yes .... (ASK [1] and [2]) 1 24/

No ....(SKIP TO Q. 24) 2

IF YES:

[1] How many people are involved? ☐☐ 25-26/

[2] Do you consider yourselves to be a group?

Yes .... (ASK [3]) 1 27/

No .... (GO TO D) 2

[3] What is the name of the group, if any?

________________________________ 28-29/

No name 00

GO TO D

23. (Cont.)

D. We would like to have the initials of each person you are working with so we can refer to it in the next question. RECORD EACH PERSON NAMED IN TABLE. FOR EACH PERSON NAMED, ASK Q. 23 E-K.

E. Is this person a relative, a good friend--someone you feel close to--or an acquaintance? RECORD ANSWER IN COL. E. (CODE '1' FOR RELATIVE, '2' FOR GOOD FRIEND, OR '3' FOR ACQUAINTANCE.)

F. What is this person's occupation? RECORD ANSWER IN COL. F.

G. Does this person live in this neighborhood, another part of (city) or outside (city)? RECORD IN COL. G. (CODE '1' FOR NEIGHBORHOOD, '2' FOR OTHER PART OF CITY, OR '3' FOR OUTSIDE OF CITY.)

H. How or where did you meet this person? RECORD ANSWER IN COL. H.

I. Did you know this person before you began working with these people? RECORD ANSWER IN COL. I. (CODE '1' FOR YES, '2' FOR NO.)

J. What type of help could you get from this person? RECORD CODE BELOW IN COL. J.

Individual advice--educational	01	Advice on dealing with school board	05
Group advice--educational	02	Advice on organizing & running group ...	06
Could get other parents to support group	03	Other (SPECIFY IN COL. J)	07
Advice on dealing with school administrators .	04		

HAND CARD D

ENTER NUMBER OF PEOPLE MENTIONED ☐☐ 30-31/

	D. INITIALS	E. RELATIONSHIP	F. OCCUPATION	G. RESIDENCE	H. HOW/WHERE MET	I. KNOWN BEFORE	J. TYPE OF HELP
1.		32/	33-34/	35/	36-37/	38/	39-40/
2.		41/	42-43/	44/	45-46/	47/	48-49/
3.		50/	51-52/	53/	54-55/	56/	57-58/
4.		59/	60-61/	62/	63-64/	65/	66-67/
5.		07/	08-09/	10/	11-12/	13/	14-15/
6.		16/	17-18/	19/	20-21/	22/	23-24/
7.		25/	26-27/	28/	29-30/	31/	32-33/
8.		34/	35-36/	37/	38-39/	40/	41-42/

BEGIN DECK 04

23. (Cont.)

K. Did most of these people you have been working with know each other before or have they gotten to know each other since getting involved in the issue?

Everyone knew each other before	4	43/
Most knew each other before	3	
Only a few knew each other before ...	2	
No one knew each other before	1	

---

24. (IF R ANSWERS 'NO' TO Q. 23, READ:)

One of the things this study is finding is that some women have people they can turn to for help with their children's school problems or to work for changes in the school. These people might include friends, relatives, teachers, and other educators. Suppose you became concerned about a problem affecting your (child's/children's) school(s). If you decided that you wanted to form a group that will try to get something done about the problem, is there anyone you know who would possibly provide help?

(IF R ANSWERS 'YES' TO Q. 23, READ:)

In addition to the people you just mentioned, do you know any others who you might turn to for help on this issue or on another affecting your children's school(s)?

Yes .... (ASK Q. 25)	1	44/
No .... (SKIP TO Q. 29)	2	

25. A. First, do you have any relatives, good friends or acquaintances who might help? Please include any teachers, administrators or other educators only if they are relatives or good friends.

Yes ... (ASK B-F) 1
No .... (SKIP TO Q. 27) ... 2

What are the initials of these people? RECORD INITIALS OF EACH PERSON MENTIONED IN COLUMN A. FOR EACH PERSON NAMED ASK B-F.

B. Is this person a relative, a good friend--someone you feel close to--or an acquaintance? RECORD ANSWER IN COL. B. (CODE '1' FOR RELATIVE, '2' FOR GOOD FRIEND, OR '3' FOR ACQUAINTANCE.

C. What is this person's occupation? RECORD ANSWER IN COL. C.

D. Does this person live in this neighborhood, another part of the (city) or outside (city)? RECORD IN COL. D. (CODE '1' FOR NEIGHBORHOOD, '2' FOR OTHER PART OF CITY, OR '3' FOR OUTSIDE OF CITY.

E. How or where did you meet this person? RECORD ANSWER IN COL. E.

F. What type of help could you get from this person? RECORD CODE BELOW IN COL. F.

HAND CARD D

Individual advice/educational	01
Group advice--educational	02
Could get other parents to support group ..	03
Advice on dealing with school administrators	04
Advice on dealing with school board ...	05
Advice on organizing & running group ...	06
Other (SPECIFY IN COL. F)	07

ENTER NUMBER OF PEOPLE MENTIONED ☐☐ 46-47/

	A. INITIALS	B. RELATIONSHIP	C. OCCUPATION	D. RESIDENCE	E. HOW/WHERE MET	F. TYPE OF HELP
1.		48/	49-50/	51/	52-53/	54-55/
2.		56/	57-58/	59/	60-61/	62-63/
3.		64/	65-66/	67/	68-69/	70-71/
4.		07/	08-09/	10/	11-12/	13-14/
5.		15/	16-17/	18/	19-20/	21-22/
6.		23/	24-25/	26/	27-28/	29-30/
7.		31/	32-33/	34/	35-36/	37-38/

BEGIN DECK 05

26. REFER R TO PEOPLE LISTED IN Q. 25. IF NO PEOPLE LISTED SKIP TO Q. 27.

A. We'd like to know if most of the people you have included in this list of friends and acquaintances know each other? SHOW R THE LIST. Would you say that . . .

All know each other	4	39/
Most know each other	3	
About half know each other	2	
Less than half know each other	1	
None know each other	0	

B. Are most of the people you have included in this list of friends and acquaintances members of the same ethnic group as you? Would you say that they are all from the same ethnic group, almost all, about half, less than half or none, are from the same ethnic group as you?

All	4	40/
Almost all	3	
About half	2	
Less than half	1	
None	0	

---

27. You've mentioned two lists of people--one of people you've been working with, and another of people that you might turn to help. How many of the people on the first list know people on the second list? Would you say that ...

All know each other	4	41/
Most know each other	3	
About half know each other	2	
Less than half know each other	1	
None know each other	0	

28. Do you know any teachers, administrators or other educators who might help you in solving educational problems?

Yes ... (ASK A-E FOR EACH PERSON NAMED) .... 1 — 42/

No ... (SKIP TO Q. 29) ... 2

A. What is this person's initials? RECORD IN COL. A IN THE TABLE BELOW.

B. Is this person a teacher, an administrator, or what? RECORD IN COL. B BELOW.

C. Where does this person live: in the neighborhood (code '1'), another part of the city (code '2') or outside city (code '3')? RECORD IN COLUMN C.

HAND CARD D

D. What type of help would you be likely to get from this person? RECORD CODE FROM CARD D IN COL. D.

E. Does this person work in a neighborhood school (code '1'), a school in another part of city (code '2'), or outside city (code '3')? RECORD IN COL. E.

ENTER NUMBER OF PEOPLE MENTIONED ☐☐ 43-44/

	A. INITIALS	B. OCCUPATION	C. RESIDENCE	D. TYPE OF HELP	E. PLACE OF WORK	
1.		45-46/	47/	48-49/	50/	
2.		51-52/	53/	54-55/	56/	
3.		57-58/	59/	60-61/	62/	
4.		63-64/	65/	66-67/	68/	
5.		07-08/	09/	10-11/	12/	BEGIN DECK 06
6.		13-14/	15/	16-17/	18/	
7.		19-20/	21/	22-23/	24/	

29. What is your current marital status? Are you married, living with someone, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

Married .... (ASK Q. 30-32) 1 25/
Living with someone as married (ASK Q. 30-32) 2
Widowed .... (SKIP TO Q. 33) 3
Divorced .... (SKIP TO Q. 33) 4
Separated ...... (SKIP TO Q. 33) 5
Never been married(SKIP TO Q. 33) 6

---

30. Is (your husband/the person you are living with as married) included among those people who could help you?

Yes .... (ASK A) 1 26/
No .... (GO TO Q. 31) 2

A. Would we be likely to play an active role or a more passive role of support in working on a school problem?

He'd probably play an active role .. 1 27/
He'd probably play a supportive role . 2
Other (SPECIFY)
______________________________ 3

---

31. How active is (your husband/person you are living with) in other neighborhood affairs besides the schools? Is he very active, somewhat active or not active?

Very active ..... (ASK A) 2 28/
Somewhat active ..(ASK A) 1
Not active 0

A. IF VERY OR SOMEWHAT ACTIVE: What kinds of activities is he involved in? (E.g., Boy Scouts, civic affairs, service club, etc.)

29-30/

---

32 IF MARRIED: How does your (husband/person you are living with) feel about your spending time on school activities? Does he strongly approve, approve, neither approve or disapprove, disapprove, or strongly disapprove?

Strongly approve 5 31/
Approve 4
Neither approve or disapprove 3
Disapproves 2
Strongly disapproves 1

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33. Do you have any relatives living in this neighborhood?

Yes ...... (ASK A)	1	32/
No	0	

A. How many times per week are you in contact with your relatives here in the neighborhood? Please include actual face-to-face visits and telephone conversations.

RECORD NUMBER OF TIMES: ______________ 33-34/

---

34. Do you have any relatives living in another part of (city)?

Yes ...... (ASK A)	1	35/
No	0	

A. How many times per week are you in contact with your relatives in other parts of (city)?

RECORD NUMBER OF TIMES: ______________ 36-37/

---

35. Do you usually contact your children's teachers to request a conference or do you usually wait for the teacher to contact you?

Usually contact teachers for conference	1	38/
Wait for teacher to contact me	0	

---

36. Have you ever had any contact with the administrators at the district office?

Yes	1	39/
No	0	

---

37. Have you ever volunteered to help the teachers or other people who work in the school?

Yes ...... (ASK A)	1	40/
No ..... (SKIP TO Q. 38) ..	0	

A. What kinds of volunteer activities have you done? CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

Fund raising--fairs, cake sales, etc..	01	41-42/
Help teacher in classroom	02	43-44/
Help teachers with trips	03	45-46/
Tutoring outside classroom	04	47-48/
Work in office	05	49-50/
Cafeteria help	06	51-52/
Recess, playground assistance	07	53-54/
Library help	08	55-56/
Other (SPECIFY) ______________	09	57-58/

SKIP TO Q. 39

---

38. Do you have the time to do any volunteer work in the school?

Yes	1	59/
No	0	

39. ASK EVERYONE:
Could you give me an idea of how you spend most of your time during the day?

Work full-time	1	60/
Work part-time	2	
Taking care of children	3	
Doing housework	4	
Attending school	5	
Other (SPECIFY) ______________________________	6	

---

40. Do you know of any city level groups that a parent or a local parent group might turn to for assistance in connection with school problems?

Yes	(ASK A-C)	1	61/
No	(SKIP TO Q. 41)	0	

A. What city-level groups do you know about? RECORD IN COLUMN A BELOW, AND FOR EACH NAMED, ASK B.

ENTER NUMBER OF GROUPS MENTIONED: ☐☐ 62-63/

B. Have you ever contacted this group? RECORD ANSWER IN COLUMN B.
IF "NO" ASK C:

C. Do you think you might ever contact this group for help? RECORD ANSWER IN COLUMN C.

A. NAME OF GROUP	B. Has contacted			C. Might contact		
	Yes	No		Yes	No	
64-65/	1	0	66/	1	0	67/
68-69/	1	0	70/	1	0	71/
07-08	1	0	09/	1	BEGIN DECK 07 0	10/
11-12/	1	0	13/	1	0	14/

41. Do you know any of the members of the Chicago School Board on a personal basis? That is, are any of them friends of yours or people you meet at social events outside of school meetings?

Yes	.... (ASK A-C)	1	15/
No	...... (SKIP TO Q. 42)	0	

A. IF YES: Which ones do you know? RECORD NAME IN COL. A OF TABLE BELOW AND FOR EACH NAME, ASK B AND C.

ENTER NUMBER OF PEOPLE MENTIONED: ☐☐ 16-17/

B. How did you meet him/her? RECORD ANSWER CODE IN COLUMN B.

Became friends after meeting at school functions	01
Through other community activities (non-school)	02
Through friends, relatives or other social contacts	03
Through professional or work related activities	04
A neighbor	05
Other (SPECIFY IN COL. B)	06

C. Do you ever discuss school issues with this Board member outside of school meetings? CHECK ANSWER IN COLUMN C.

A. Name of Board Member	B. How met/known		C. Discuss issues Yes	No	
1. ____________	____________	18-19/	1	0	20/
2. ____________	____________	21-22/	1	0	23/
3. ____________	____________	24-25/	1	0	26/
4. ____________	____________	27-28/	1	0	29/
5. ____________	____________	30-31/	1	0	32/

42. Now we'd like to ask you about other neighborhood groups or organizations you belong to besides the PTA (or other school council). Are you a member of a church or temple, a social club or other association in this neighborhood?

Yes .... (ASK A & B) 1 33/
No ...... (SKIP TO Q. 43) 2

IF YES:

A. What organizations do you belong to? ENTER NAME(S) IN CHART BELOW.

ENTER NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS MENTIONED: ☐☐ 34-35/

B. Did you ever hold any office in (NAME EACH ORGANIZATION)?
ENTER OFFICE(S) OR "NONE" FOR EACH ORGANIZATION IN "POSITION" COLUMN.

	ORGANIZATION/GROUP			POSITION	
1.		36-37/	1.		38/
2.		39-40/	2.		41/
3.		42-43/	3.		44/
4.		45-46/	4.		47/
5.		48-49/	5.		50/
6.		51-52/	6.		53/
7.		54-55/	7.		56/
8.		57-58	8.		59/

43. ASK EVERYONE:

Do you belong to any organizations outside of this neighborhood?

Yes .... (ASK A & B) 1 60/

No .... (SKIP TO Q. 44) 2

IF YES:

A. What organizations do you belong to? ENTER NAME(S) IN CHART BELOW.

ENTER NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS MENTIONED: ☐☐ 61-62/

B. Did you ever hold any office in (NAME EACH ORGANIZATION)? ENTER OFFICE(S) OR "NONE" FOR EACH ORGANIZATION IN "POSITION" COLUMN.

	ORGANIZATION/GROUP			POSITION	
1.		63-64/	1.		65/
2.		66-67/	2.		68/
3.		69-70/	3.		71/
4.		72-73	4.		74/ BEGIN DECK 08
5.		07-08/	5.		09/
6.		10-11/	6.		12/
7.		13-14/	7.		15/
8.		16-17/	8.		18/

44. Parents in some of the school districts we're studying have received information and support from elected representatives that helped them to improve their schools. Sometimes these were people they already knew--in other cases they just called these people on the phone.

I'm going to read a list of positions in government and I'd like you to tell me if you know the person who represents you in that position. FOR EACH POSITION, ASK A. IF RESPONDENT KNOWS SOMEONE IN THIS POSITION, ASK B. IF SHE DOES NOT KNOW ANYONE IN THIS POSITION, ASK C. (First/next) . . .

A. Do you know anyone in this position in your (ward, legislative or Congressional, etc. district)? CODE IN COL. A

IF YES TO A:
B. How do you know this person? ENTER CODE FROM LIST BELOW OR SPECIFY IN COLUMN B.

Worked on campaign	01	A neighbor	06
Political meetings or functions	02	Respondent made direct contact	07
Community meetings or functions	03	Representative contacted respondent	08
Through friends, relatives or other social contacts ...	04	Other (SPECIFY IN COL. B).	09
Through professional or work related activities	05		

ASK EVERYONE:
C. Would you be likely to contact (this person/someone in this position) for information or assistance about an educational issue?

	A. Know someone Yes	No		B. How known or met	C. Would contact Yes	No	
Ward Committeeman	1	2	19/	20-21/	1	2	22/
Precinct captain	1	2	23/	24-25/	1	2	26/
Ward Superintendent	1	2	27/	28-29/	1	2	30/
Alderman	1	2	31/	32-33/	1	2	34/
State Legislator	1	2	35/	36-37/	1	2	38/
Senator or Congressman	1	2	39/	40-41/	1	2	42/

45. We have a list of things that some people think parents should do in order to help their children do well in school. Other people think that parents should not do these things. I'm going to read you the list and ask if you agree or disagree that parents should do these things. (First/next) . . .

	Agree	Disagree	
a. Help my children with homework	1	2	43/
b. Have a special place in the home for children to do homework	1	2	44/
c. Limit amount of time spent watching TV	1	2	45/
d. See that homework is completed before children watch TV	1	2	46/
e. Go over the child's homework before he hands it in	1	2	47/
f. Find out from the teacher what the child is capable of doing in that class	1	2	48/
g. Take away privileges if he doesn't do his school work	1	2	49/
h. Look at the child's textbooks	1	2	50/
i. See that children go to bed at a regular time every night	1	2	51/
j. Teach the child how to behave properly in school	1	2	52/
k. Attend parent council meetings	1	2	53/
l. See that child gets to school on time	1	2	54/

---

46. Parents have different attitudes about their role in school affairs. Here are four fairly common attitudes. ASK EVERYONE A AND B.

A. Which one of the statements on this card best describes your attitude when you first enrolled a child in school? CIRCLE ONE CODE IN COL. A.

B. Which statement on the list best describes your attitude now? CIRCLE ONE CODE IN COL. B.

HAND CARD E		A. Attitude at first	B. Attitude now
1)	Parents should not organize to change the schools. If they think the school program needs improvement they should discuss this with the principal and leave it to him to do what he thinks is best.	1	1
2)	It's OK for parents to organize--but it should be within the PTA or other school channel.	2	2
3)	It's OK for parents to organize outside the school system.	3	3
4)	It's OK for parents to engage in boycotts against the school.	4	4

55/

56/

47. What kinds of questions do you feel parents should ask to find out if a school is good?

---

48. Do you see any serious problems in (SCHOOL) or do you feel that there are no serious problems?

Yes	(ASK A)	1	57/
No	(SKIP TO Q. 49) .	2	

A. What are the problems you see? LIST PROBLEMS MENTIONED IN COL. A IN TABLE BELOW.

B. Let's talk about each problem you mentioned. First (refer to 48A). Is this an issue that you would personally like to get involved in doing something about? CIRCLE ONE CODE FOR EACH PROBLEM MENTIONED.

C. IF NOT INVOLVED: Would you like to be involved in doing something about this issue?

A. Problem	B. Are you involved? Yes	No		C. Would you get involved? Yes	No	
58-59/	1	2	60/	1	2	61/
62-63/	1	2	64/	1	2	65/
66-67/	1	2	68/	1	2	69/
70-71/	1	2	72/	1	2	73/

BEGIN DECK 09

49. Do you have any friends who you feel really close to? By "close" we mean people you turn to for sharing good and bad things, advice on personal problems or worries . . .

Yes	(ASK A)	1	07/
No	(SKIP TO Q. 50)	2	

A. Do most of these people you feel close to live in this school district (FOR URBAN RESPONDENTS: NEIGHBORHOOD) or outside this school district?

More close friends are in district than out (GO TO Q. 50)	1	08/
More close friends are outside district than in (ASK B)	2	
About half are in the district and half are outside (ASK B)	3	

IF MOST CLOSE FRIENDS ARE OUTSIDE OR HALF ARE OUTSIDE THE DISTRICT:

B. Where are these close friends located: In other nearby suburbs, the city (nearby), or elsewhere in the country?

Nearby suburbs	1	09/
Nearby city	2	
Elsewhere	3	
All three	4	

---

50. In the social groups that you belong to, do you find that school affairs are a frequent topic of conversation, an occasional topic, or an infrequent topic?

Frequent topic	1	10/
Occasional topic	2	
Infrequent topic	3	

---

51. About how much of your time do you spend each week doing things in this neighborhood and (community)? Would you say: READ CATEGORIES

Almost all	1	11/
About 75%	2	
About 50%	3	
About 25%	4	
Less than 25%	5	

52. How much of your purely social activities take place in this (neighborhood/community)--almost all, about 75%, about 50%, about 25%, or less than 25%?

Almost all	1	12/
About 75%	2	
About 50%	3	
About 25%	4	
Less than 25%	5	

---

53. On the whole, how happy are you with living here? Would you say you're very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy living in this (neighborhood/community)?

Very happy	1	13/
Pretty happy	2	
Not too happy	3	

---

54. IF R IS MARRIED:
How happy do you think your husband is about living in this (neighborhood/community)--very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?

Very happy	1	14/
Pretty happy	2	
Not too happy	3	

---

55. Are you planning to stay in this (neighborhood/community)--at least until your children finish school--or do you plan to move?

Plan to stay	1	15/
Plan to move ... (ASK A)	2	

A. Why are you planning to move?

16-17/

18-1

---

56. Do you live in a house or an apartment?

House .... (ASK A)	1	20/
Condominium .... (ASK A)	2	
Apartment	3	
Other (SPECIFY AND ASK A) ______________________	4	

A. Are you an owner or a renter?

Owner	1	21/
Renter	2	

57. Are you currently working full-time, part-time, going to school, keeping house, or what?
CIRCLE ONE CODE ONLY. IF MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE, GIVE PREFERENCE TO SMALLEST CODE NUMBER THAT APPLIES.

HAND
CARD
F

Working full time	(ASK A-C)	1	22/
Working part time	(ASK A-C)	2	
Unemployed, laid off, looking for work		3	
In school		4	
Keeping house		5	
Other (SPECIFY) ______________________		6	

A. What kind of work do you do? That is, what is your job called? IF MORE THAN ONE JOB, ASK ABOUT MAIN JOB.

OCCUPATION: ______________________________ 23-24/

B. What do you actually do in that job? What are some of your main duties?

C. Where is your main place of work? Is it in (Community), the City, another suburb, or where?

(Community)	1	25/
City	2	
Another suburb	3	
Other (SPECIFY) ______________________	4	

58. IF MARRIED:

Is your husband currently working full time, part time, going to school, keeping house, or what?

CIRCLE ONE CODE ONLY. IF MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE, GIVE PREFERENCE TO SMALLEST CODE NUMBER THAT APPLIES.

HAND
CARD
F

Working full time ...(ASK A-C)	1	26/
Working part time ...(ASK A-C)	2	
Unemployed, laid off, looking for work.	3	
In school	4	
Keeping house	5	
Other (SPECIFY) ______________________________	6	

A. What kind of work does he do? That is, what is his job called?
IF MORE THAN ONE JOB, ASK ABOUT MAIN JOB.

27-28/

OCCUPATION: ______________________________

B. What does he actually do in that job? What are some of his main duties?

C. Where is his main place of work? Is it in (Community), the City, another suburb, or where?

(Community)	1	29/
City	2	
Another suburb	3	
Other (SPECIFY) ______________________________	4	

59. How far did you go in school? That is, what was the last grade of school you completed?

Some grade school or less	01	30-31/
Sixth grade	02	
Some junior high	03	
Completed junior high	04	
Some high school	05	
Completed high school	06	
Some college	07	
Four years college: B.A. or B.S. ...	08	
Masters	09	
Ph.D.	10	
Degree in law or medicine	11	
Other (SPECIFY) ________________________________	12	

---

60. What is your religion--is it Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, some other religion or no religion?

Protestant	1	32/
Catholic	2	
Jewish	3	
Muslim	4	
Other (SPECIFY RELIGION AND OR CHURCH AND DENOMINATION) ________________________________	5	
None or atheist .. (SKIP TO Q. 62)	6	

---

61. IF R BELONGS TO A RELIGION:
Do you belong to a religious organization? That is, a church or a temple?

Yes .... (ASK A AND B)	1	33/
No ...... (SKIP TO Q. 62)	0	

A. Are you active in this religious organization or not active?

Active	1	34/
Not active	0	

B. Is this religious organization in (community) or another part of (city)?

In community	1	35/
Outside community	0	

62. For statistical purposes we would like to know what ethnic or racial group you belong to. What ethnic or racial group do you identify most strongly with?

Latino .... (ASK Q. 63)	01	36-37/
Polish	02	
Italian	03	
Irish	04	
German	05	
Other or more than one (RECORD ____________________)	06	
None	07	

---

63. IF R IS LATINO:

A. Where were you born?

COUNTRY: ______________________ 38-39/

B. IF R BORN IN THE UNITED STATES, ASK:

(1) What country other than the United States were your mother's relatives born in?

______________________________________ 40-41/

(2) What country other than the United States were your father's relatives born in?

______________________________________ 42-43/

---

64. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?

Republican	1	44/
Democrat	2	
Independent	3	
Other (SPECIFY) ____________________	4	

---

65. Are you registered to vote in (City)?

Yes ..... (ASK A)	1	45/
No	0	

A. Did you vote in the last election?

Yes	1	46/
No	0	

---

66. Which age category are you in: READ CATEGORIES

Under 25	01	47-48/
25-29	02	
30-34	03	
35-39	04	
40-44	05	
45-49	06	
50-54	07	
55 or over	08	

INTERVIEW REMARKS

1. Time interview ended: ☐☐ : ☐☐

A.M.	1	49-53/
P.M.	2	

---

2. Respondent's sex:

Male	1	54/
Female	2	

---

3. Respondendent's apparent race:

White, not of Hispanic origin	1	55/
Negro/Black, not of Hispanic origin ..	2	
Hispanic	3	
Asian/Pacific Islander	4	
American Indian/Alaskan Native	5	

---

4. Length of interview ☐☐☐ minutes 56-58/

---

5. Date of interview ☐☐☐☐ 59-62/

Day Month

INTERVIEWER'S SIGNATURE: ____________________

INTERVIEWER'S I.D. #: ☐☐☐☐☐ 63-67/

APPENDIX C-2:

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR
COMMUNITY INFORMANT

INTERVIEW GUIDE: COMMUNITY INFORMANT

1. Compile a list of community-based organizations. The types of organizations to include are:

   Religious
   Neighborhood/property owner groups
   Civic Associations
   Service agencies (counseling centers, health agencies, day care, etc.)
   Political Clubs
   Ethnic associations
   Mens and/or women's groups
   Recreational

   Any informal groups that are reported to meet on a regular basis

2. Interview 3-4 residents or leaders of organizations who are familiar with the community organizations and their relationship to the public school in that community.

   Use the form "Community Resource Survey" to record the names of the organizations. Skip one space to separate different types of organizations.

   Ask the informant the following questions:

   a. Do any public school parents belong to this group?

      If response is yes, ask if parents from this group are usually active in school issues.

      If yes, place a check in Col. A.
      If no, check Col. B.

      If no parents in the group, ask if group is usually active in school issues. If yes, check column C. If no, check Column D.

   IMPORTANT: USE A SEPARATE FORM FOR EACH INFORMANT.

3. RESOURCES FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL PARENTS.

   Ask each informant to name the groups/organizations in the community that have resources for parents. Record the names on Form 2. For each group ask:

   a. How many people belong to this group? Probe for an estimate if informant is not sure.

   b. Do parents belong to this group?
   c. How does the group work with parents? Probe for details on past work with parents and specific issues that group was active in.

4. Do any of these groups work together around school issues? Record information on this on Form 3. USE SEPARATE FORM FOR EACH INFORMANT.

5. Have there any community-school controversies here in the past 5 years? Record information on Form 4. USE SEPARATE FORM FOR EACH INFORMANT.

6. Record your summary impressions about community organization-school relationships on Form 5.

FORM I

COMMUNITY RESOURCE SURVEY

Neighborhood__________________________

Informant____________________________

Position_____________________________

Researcher___________________________

GROUPS OR ORGANIZATIONS	A. Parents Usually Active	B. Parents Usually Inactive	C. No Parents. Usually Active	D. No Parents No involvement with schools

FORM 2

Community____________________

Informant____________________
position

Researcher____________________

GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS WITH RESOURCES FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL PARENTS

DRAW A LINE AFTER EACH GROUP

NAME OF GROUP	No. of Members	Are parents Members?	Type of resources available for parents; examples of past activities involving parents (mention specific issues)

FORM 3
SOCIAL NETWORK STUDY

COMMUNITY______________________________

INFORMANT:________________RESEARCHER____________

INTERGROUP RELATIONS AROUND PUBLIC SCHOOL

Q. Do any of these groups work together around school issues? REFER TO GROUPS LISTED ON FORM 2.

LIST THE NAMES OF THE GROUPS THAT WORK TOGETHER. PROBE FOR DETAILS ON PAST WORK WITH PARENTS: THE ISSUES, WHAT THE GROUP DID, etc.

FORM 4

COMMUNITY______________________________

INFORMANT________________ RESEARCHER____________

COMMUNITY-SCHOOL CONFLICTS

Q. Have there been any conflicts or serious problems between the community and the schools here in the past 5 years? (If yes, probe for details)

FORM 5

COMMUNITY____________________

RESEARCHER____________________

SUMMARY IMPRESSIONS OF COMMUNITY-SCHOOL RELATIONS

APPENDIX C-3

MEETING OBSERVATION FORM

MEETING OBSERVATION FORM

DATE: ____________________ OBSERVER ________________

LOCATION ________________________ NEIGHBORHOOD ____________

GROUP: __________________________ SCHOOL DISTRICTS __________

Size of audience/participants ________________________________

Program participants: (speakers)

NAME	POSITION	TOPIC

Summary of meeting

Your impressions of what went on at this meeting. (Comment on quality of the presentations, audience response, level of interest and any other items you believe were important. Use additional paper if needed).

MEETING OBSERVATION FORM - 2

This sheet is for recording the questions and issues raised by people attending the meeting.

QUESTION/ISSUE	RESULTS

Were most of the people who attended: __ parents, __ teachers

__ others (specify:____)

APPENDIX C-4

SPANISH VERSION
OF
PARENT INTERVIEW
GUIDE

CONFIDENTIAL

4289
2/80

BEGIN DECK 01

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

Social Network Study

Case Number: ☐☐ ☐☐☐ 01-05/

06/R

INTERVIEW GUIDE

PARENTS

(Spanish Translation)

NAME: ______________________

TIME BEGAN: __________ AM PM

INTRODUCCION

Estamos llevando a cabo un estudio de la participación de los padres de familia en las escuelas públicas. Nos interesa especialmente conocer los distintos niveles de participación de los padres en diversas comunidades. A Ud. y a los demás padres de familia que participen se les harán las mismas preguntas sobre la educación de sus hijos y su opinión de la participación de los padres para mejorar los programas escolares de sus hijos.

El objeto de este estudio es el de proporcionar información a aquellas personas cuyo trabajo es el de formular política para mejorar las relaciones entre los padres y las escuelas. El estudio es dirigido por el National Opinion Research Center en la Universidad de Chicago. Al elaborar los resultados ningún nombre personal y ningún nombre de escuelas será mencionado. Entrevistaremos a otros padres de familia de este barrio o comunidad y a otras personas que laboran en las escuelas locales y a algunos dirigentes de la comunidad.

1. ¿En qué año se cambió a este barrio?

INDIQUE EL AÑO: 19 ☐☐ 07-08/

He vivido aquí toda mi vida
(PASE A LA PREGUNTA 3)...00

---

2. Cuando decidió mudarse a este barrio, ¿tomó en cuenta la calidad de las escuelas públicas? ¿Consideró este aspecto muy importante, algo importante o no importante?

Muy importante	1	09/
Algo importante	2	
No importante	3	
No sé	8	

---

3. ¿Qué tan satisfecha esta Ud. actualmente con la calidad de educación que sus hijos han recibido en las escuelas públicas de aquí? ¿Está Ud. muy satisfecha, algo satisfecha, algo insatisfecha, o muy insatisfecha?

Muy satisfecha	1	10/
Algo satisfecha	2	
Algo insatisfecha	3	
Muy insatisfecha	4	
No sé	8	

A. ¿A qué atribuye esta opinión? ESCRIBA VERBATIM.

11-12/
13-14/

4. ¿Cuántos de sus niños son menores de 19 años y viven con Ud.? Incluya niños adoptivos, de crianza y niños del matrimonio anterior si acaso tiene alguno(s).

INDIQUE EL NUMERO: ☐☐ 15-16/

Nos gustaría saber las edades de los niños y la escuela en la que están matriculados. ¿Qué edad tiene el/la mayor que vive con Ud.?(ESCRIBA LA EDAD EN LA COLUMNA A. SI ES MAYOR DE 5 AÑOS, PREGUNTE LA B. CONTINUE HASTA TERMINAR CON LOS DEMAS NIÑOS.) Y el que sigue del mayor . . .

A. Edad del niño(a) (SI ES MAYOR DE 5 AÑOS PREGUNTE B.)		SI ES MAYOR DE 5 AÑOS, PREGUNTE: B. ¿Cómo se llama la escuela en la que está su niño(a)?	
1. ____________	17-18/	____________	19-21/
2. ____________	22-23/	____________	24-26/
3. ____________	27-28/	____________	29-31/
4. ____________	32-33/	____________	34-36/
5. ____________	37-38/	____________	39-41/
6. ____________	42-43/	____________	44-46/
7. ____________	47-48/	____________	49-51/
8. ____________	52-53/	____________	54-56/

SI SON MAS DE OCHO NIÑOS INDIQUE EL NUMERO ☐☐

---

5. ¿Aproximadamente cuántas veces visita la escuela (NOMBRE)? Casi a diario, una vez por semana, una vez por mes, una o dos veces al año o cuántas?

a. Casi a diario 4 57/
b. Una vez por semana 3
c. Una vez por mes 2
d. Una o dos veces al año 1
e. Nunca 0

---

6. ¿Alguna vez ha participado en un programa de entrenamiento para los padres de familia--por ejemplo, algún programa para los padres por cuenta del PTA, consejo de la escuela local o algún programa federal?

Sí ....(PREGUNTE A) 1 58/
No 2

A. SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: ¿En qué consistió el/los programa(s) de entrenamiento? ESCRIBA VERBATIM.

59-60/

61-62/

7. Estamos interesados en saber si hay alguna otra persona de su hogar quien regularmente comparte con Ud. la educación de su/s niño/s. ¿Alguien quien atiende las juntas o conferencias con los maestros, cuando Ud. no puede?

Sí .... (PREGUNTE A)	1	63/
No	2	

A. SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: ¿Cuál es la relación de esa persona con su hijo? ESCRIBA SOLO UNA, SI SE MENCIONA MAS DE UNA, PREGUNTE POR LA MAS ACTIVA.

64-65/

---

8. Tenemos una lista de eventos que se efectúan en la mayoría de las escuelas. ¿A cuántas va y con que frecuencia? ¿Frecuentemente, ocasionalmente, rara vez o nunca? ENTREGUE TARJETA A Y MARQUE UNA RESPUESTA EN CADA LINEA.

HAND CARD A

	Frecuentemente	Ocasionalmente	Rara vez	Nunca	
A. Juntas del PTA	3	2	1	0	66/
B. Juntas del consejo local	3	2	1	0	67/
C. Juntas de padres convocadas por los maestros	3	2	1	0	68/
D. Obras teatrales, conciertos u otros programas en los que aparecen sus niños	3	2	1	0	69/
E. Eventos para recaudar fondos (ventas de pasteles, ferias, etc.)	3	2	1	0	70/
F. Conferencias entre padres y maestros	3	2	1	0	71/
G. Juntas de el Consejo de Educación	3	2	1	0	72/

BEGIN DECK 02

9. Ahora quisiera preguntar sobre (PERSONA NOMBRADA EN LA PREGUNTA 7). ¿Qué tan frecuentemente atiende (ESTA PERSONA) estas juntas? (Primero/Después), . . . MARQUE UNA RESPUESTA EN CADA LINEA.

	Frecuentemente	Ocasionalmente	Rara vez	Nunca	
A. Juntas del PTA	3	2	1	0	07/
B. Juntas del consejo local	3	2	1	0	08/
C. Juntas de padres convocadas por los maestros	3	2	1	0	09/
D. Obras teatrales, conciertos u otros programas en los que aparecen sus niños	3	2	1	0	10/
E. Eventos para recaudar fondos (ventas de pasteles, ferias, etc.)	3	2	1	0	11/
F. Conferencias entre padres y maestros	3	2	1	0	12/
G. Juntas de el Consejo de Educación	3	2	1	0	13/

10. ¿Pertenece Ud. a algún consejo de padres de familia o algún consejo de esta escuela? Esto puede incluir el PTA, consejo local de la escuela, un consejo consultativo bilingue o de título I Consejo de información para padres, u otros consejos.

Sí ...... (PREGUNTE A-G) 1 14/
No ... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 11) . 2

SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI, PREGUNTE A-G:

A. ¿ A cuáles consejos pertenece Ud.? ENTREGUE TARJETA B. MARQUE TODOS LOS QUE SE APLIQUEN.

HAND CARD B

PTA	1	15/
Consejo de escuela local	2	16/
Bilingue PAC	3	17/
Título I PAC	4	18/
Otro (ESPICIFIQUE) ______________	5	19/

B. ¿Por qué razón se hizo miembro de este/estos consejo/s?

20-21/

10. (Continuación)

C. ¿Qué tan a menudo se reune (NOMBRE CADA UNO DE LOS CONSEJOS LISTADOS EN PREGUNTA 10A)? ESCRIBA EL NOMBRE DE CADA UNO DE LOS CONSEJOS EN LA COLUMNA 1 Y LA FRECUENCIA DE REUNIONES POR MES EN LA COLUMNA 2.

COLUMNA 1 Nombre del consejo		COLUMNA 2 Frecuencia de reuniones por mes	
1)________________	22/	________________	23-24/
2)________________	25/	________________	26-27/
3)________________	28/	________________	29-20/

D. ¿Cuánto tiempo ocupa cada mes en actividades de el consejo para los padres? Medio día o menos, un día, 2 o 3 días, una semana o más de una semana al mes?

Medio día o menos 1 31/
Un día 2
2 o 3 días 3
Una semana 4
Más de una semana (ESPECIFIQUE)
________________________________ 5

E. ¿Cómo seleccionan a los padres que presidirán la mesa directiva de el/los consejo(s) a el/los que Ud. pertenece? ¿Los padres elijen al director, el director de la escuela o alguna otra persona de la escuela lo elijen? Primero el PTA, ¿cómo es elejido el director de ese consejo? Después, . . . MENCIONE CADA CONSEJO. MARQUE CON UN CIRCULO UN NUMERO PARA CADA LINEA.

Nombre del consejo		Padres elijen al director	Alguna otra persona elije al director	
1)________________	32/	1	2	33/
2)________________	34/	1	2	35/
3)________________	36/	1	2	37/

F. ¿Ud. ha participado en la selección o elección del padre/madre director/a de alguno de estos consejos?

Sí.................................. 1 38/
No 2

G. ¿Ha tenido alguna vez un puesto en alguno de estos consejos?

Sí 1 39/
No 2

11. ¿Tiene algunos amigos que pertenezcan al consejo de padres en esta escuela?

Sí	1	40/
No	2	

SI LOS PADRES HAN ASISTIDO AL PTA O A CUALQUIER OTRA REUNION DEL CONSEJO DE PADRES FRECUENTEMENTE, OCASIONALMENTE, O RARA VEZ (VEA LA PREGUNTA 8) PREGUNTE 12:

12. ¿Cómo consideraría las reuniones a las que ha asistido, desde el punto de vista de interés para los padres que no pertenecen a la mesa directiva? ¿Son . . .
LEA LAS CATEGORIAS Y MARQUE CON UN CIRCULO UNA.

En general muy interesantes ...	3	41/
En general algo interesantes ..	2	
En general no muy interesantes.	1	

A. ¿Por qué considera las reuniones (VEA LA RESPUESTA A LA PREGUNTA NO. 12)?
ESCRIBA VERBATIM.

42-43/

44-45/

SI LOS PADRES NO ASISTEN A LAS JUNTAS (VEA PREGUNTA 8) PREGUNTE 13:

13. ¿Por qué no asiste a las juntas para padres?
MARQUE TODAS LAS RESPUESTAS QUE SE APLIQUEN.

Trabajo	1	46/
Tengo niños pequeños en casa ..	2	47/
No me interesa	3	48/
Son una perdida de tiempo	4	49/
Otra razón (ESPECIFIQUE)		
____________________________	5	50/

---

14. ¿En qué forma se desempeñan los diregentes del consejo de padres y en particular al dar información sobre los programas educativos en esta escuela? ¿Desempeñan su trabajo de una forma excelente, buena, regular o mala?
MARQUE UNA.

Excelente	4	51/
Buena	3	
Regular	2	
Mala	1	

---

15. ¿Cuál es su principal fuente de información sobre la escuela? Es . . .
LEA LAS CATEGORIAS Y MARQUE UNA.

PTA	01	52-53/
Consejo asesor local	02	
Los maestros...................	03	
El director	04	
Otros padres	05	
Mis hijos	06	
El periódico	07	
Otras fuentes (ESPECIFIQUE)		
____________________________	08	

16. ¿Cuánto contacto tiene Ud. con el director de la escuela?

Bastante . (PREGUNTE A)	4	54/
Algo ..... (PREGUNTE A)	3	
Un poco .. (PREGUNTE A)	2	
Nada ..... (PREGUNTE A)	1	

A. ¿Qué tipo de contactos tiene Ud.? MARQUE TODAS LAS QUE SE APLIQUEN.

En juntas	1	55/
Conferencias	2	56/
En los pasillos	3	57/
Otro (ESPECIFIQUE) ______________________	4	58/

---

17. A. A continuación hay una lista de cualidades que describen a los directores. ¿Cuál de estas describe el director de la escuela? MUESTRE LA TARJETA C. MARQUE CON UN CIRCULO UNA RESPUESTA EN CADA LINEA.

HAND CARD C

	Sí	No	
1) Desea la participación de los padres en el programa escolar	1	0	59/
2) Amigable	1	0	60/
3) Asiste a los padres	1	0	61/
4) Se interesa en los niños	1	0	62/
5) Formal, como hombre de negocios	1	0	63/

B. ¿Cuál de estas cualidades describe a la mayoría de los maestros en la escuela?

	Sí	No	
1) Desean la participación de los padres en el programa escolar	1	0	64/
2) Amigable	1	0	65/
3) Asisten a los padres	1	0	66/
4) Se interesan en los niños	1	0	67/
5) Formal, como hombres de negocios	1	0	68/

---

18. ¿Se siente bien recibido en esta escuela?

Sí	1	69/
No	2	

A. ¿Por qué se siente (bien/mal) recibido? ESCRIBA VERBATIM.

70-71/

19. Estudios sobre desiciones o acuerdos de educación incluyen cuatro áreas: planeación de presupuestos, desarrollo del curriculum, selección de personal y negociaciones de contratos. ¿Cuánta influencia piensa Ud. que tienen los padres en el sistema educacional en cada una de estas áreas: bastante, algo, un poco o nada? (Primero/Después), en . . . LEA CADA UNA Y MARQUE CON UN CIRCULO UNA RESPUESTA PARA CADA CATEGORIA.

	Bastante	Algo	Un poco	Nada	
A. Planeación de presupuestos	3	2	1	0	07/
B. Desarrollo del curriculum	3	2	1	0	08/
C. Selección del personal	3	2	1	0	09/
D. Negociaciones de contratos	3	2	1	0	10/

20. ¿Cuánta influencia piensa Ud. que deberían de tener los padres de familia en las cuatro áreas de decisión? ¿Cree Ud. que los padres deberían tener bastante, algo, un poco, o nada de influencia?

	Bastante	Algo	Un poco	Nada	
A. Planeación de presupuestos	3	2	1	0	11/
B. Desarrollo del curriculum	3	2	1	0	12/
C. Selección del personal	3	2	1	0	13/
D. Negociaciones de contratos	3	2	1	0	14/

21. Sobre la asignación de sus hijos en el salon de clase, ¿diría Ud. que su influencia es bastante, alguna, muy poca o nada?

Bastante	3	15/
Alguna	2	
Muy poca	1	
Nada	0	

22. ¿Cree Ud. que las juntas para padres en esta escuela proveen a los padres con una oportunidad adecuada para opinar sobre el curriculum?

Sí	1	16/
No	0	

23. ¿Ha estado Ud. haciendo algo para influenciar lo que sucede en (NOMBRE DEL SISTEMA ESCOLAR) en relación con un problema específico?

Sí .... (PREGUNTE A-C) 1 17/
No ..... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 24) 2

A. ¿Me podría decir en que problema ha estado Ud. trabajando? SI MAS DE UNO PREGUNTE: ¿Cuál considera Ud. el más importante? (PIDA AL PARTICIPANTE RESPONDER A LAS SIGUIENTES PREGUNTAS EN RELACION CON EL PROBLEMA MAS IMPORTANTE.)

18-19/

B. ¿Qué tipo de cosas ha estado Ud. haciendo con respecto a éste problema?

20-21/

22-23/

C. ¿Esta trabajando con alguna otra persona en esto?

Sí ...... (PREGUNTE [1] Y [2]) 1 24/
No ...... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 24) 2

SI LA RESPUESTA ES "SI" PREGUNTE:

[1] ¿Cuántas personas están envueltas en esto? ☐☐ 25-26/

[2] ¿Ud. lo considera un grupo?

Sí .... (PREGUNTE [3]) 1 27/
No .... (PASE A D) 2

[3] ¿Cuál es el nombre del grupo, si tiene uno?

____ 28-29/

No tiene nombre 00

GO TO D

23. (Cont.)

D. Nos gustaria tener las iniciales de cada persona con la que Ud. esta trabajando, para poder hacer referencia en la siguiente pregunta. ESCRIBA EL NOMBRE DE CADA PERSONA EN EL CUADRO. PARA CADA PERSONA PREGUNTE 23 E-K.

E. Es esta persona un pariente o un buen amigo alguién de confianza--o sólo un conocido? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA BAJO LA COLUMNA E. ('1' PARA PARIENTE, '2' BUEN AMIGO, O '3' CONOCIDO.)

F. ¿Cuál es la ocupación de esta persona? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA F.

G. ¿Esta persona vive en este barrio, en otra parte (ciudad) o fuera (ciudad)? ESCRIBA SU RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA G. ('1' BARRIO, '2' OTRA PARTE DE LA CIUDAD, '3' FUERA DE LA CIUDAD.)

H. ¿Cómo y donde conoció Ud. a esta persona? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA H.

I. ¿Conocia Ud. a esta persona antes de comenzar a trabajar con este grupo? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN COLUMNA I. ('1' SI, '2' NO.)

J. ¿Que tipo de ayuda recibió de esta persona? ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE ACUERDO CON LAS SIGUIENTES CATEGORIAS EN LA COLUMNA J.

HAND
CARD
D

Consejo individual/educacional .. 01
Consejo de grupo/educacional 02
Consiguió que otros padres respaldaran al grupo 03
Consejo en como tratar a los administradores de la escuela .. 04
Consejo en como tratar con la junta escolar .. 05
Consejo en organizar y manejar al grupo 06
Otro (ESPECIFIQUE EN LA COLUMNA J) 07

ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE PERSONAS MENCIONADAS: ☐☐ 30-31/

D. INICIALES	E. RELACION	F. OCUPACION	G. RESIDENCIA	H. COMO/DONDE CONOCIO	I. CONOCIA ANTES	J. TIPO DE AYUDA
1.	32/	33-34/	35/	36-37/	38/	39-40/
2.	41/	42-43/	44/	45-46/	47/	48-49/
3.	50/	51-52/	53/	54-55/	56/	57-58/
4.	59/	60-61/	62/	63-64/	65/	66-67/
5.	07/	08-09/	10/	11-12/	13/	14-15/
6.	16/	17-18/	19/	20-21/	22/	23-24/
7.	25/	26-27/	28/	29-30/	31/	32-33/
8. 302	34/	35-36/	37/	38-39/	40/	41-42/

BEGIN DECK 04

303

23. (Cont.)

K. ¿La mayoría de estas personas con las que ha estado Ud. trabajando, se conocían antes, o se han ido conociendo desde que comenzaron a trabajar en este problema?

Todos se conocían antes	4	43/
Casi todos se conocían antes	3	
Sólo unos pocos se conocían antes	2	
Nadie se conocía antes	1	

PASE ALA PREGUNTA 24B

---

24. (SI LA RESPUESTA ES "NO" A LA PREGUNTA 23, LEA:)

Una de las cosas que este estudio está encontrando es que algunas mujeres conocen personas a las que pueden acudir para pedir ayuda con los problemas escolares de los niños o para trabajar en cambios dentro de la escuela. Estas personas pueden incluir amigos, parientes, maestros, y otros educadores. Supongase que Ud. se apura con un problema que afecta la/s escuela/s de su hijo/s. Ud. decide que quiere formar un grupo para hacer algo acerca del problema. ¿Hay alguien que conoce que le pueda proporcionar ayuda?

SI LA RESPUESTA ES "SI," PASE A LA PREGUNTA 25A.
SI LA RESPUESTA ES "NO," ESCRIBA "NO" Y PASE A LA PREGUNTA 29.

(SI LA RESPUESTA ES "SI" A LA PREGUNTA 23, LEA:)

A. ¿Hay alguien más, además de las personas que ya mencionó que conoce a otras personas a las que pueda pedir ayuda en este problema u otro que afecte la/s escuela/s de su/s hijo/s?

Sí ..... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 25)	1	44/
No ..... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 29)	2	

25. A. Primero, ¿tiene parientes, amigos o conocidos que la/o pudieran ayudar? Por favor incluya maestros, administradores u otros educadores sólo cuando estos sean parientes o buenos amigos.

Sí ... (PREGUNTE B-F) 1
No .. (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 27) ... 2

¿Cuales son las iniciales de estas personas? ESCRIBA LAS INICIALES DE CADA PERSONA MENCIONADA EN LA COLUMNA A. Y PARA CADA UNA PREGUNTE B-F.

B. ¿Es esta persona un pariente o buen amigo o sólo conocido? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA B. ('1' PARIENTE, '2' BUEN AMIGO, O '3' CONOCIDO)

C. ¿Cual es la ocupación de esta persona? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA C.

D. ¿Vive esta persona en su barrio, otra parte de (ciudad) o fuera de (ciudad)? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA D ('1' BARRIO, '2' OTRA PARTE DE LA CUIDAD, '3' FUERA DE LA CUIDAD)

E. ¿Cómo y donde conoció a esta persona? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA E.

F. ¿Qué tipo de ayuda recibió de esta persona? ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE ACUERDO CON LAS SIGUIENTES CATEGORIAS EN LA COLUMNA F.

HAND CARD D

Consejo individual/educacional 01
Consejo de grupo/educacional 02
Consiguió que otros padres respaldaran al grupo 03
Consejo en como tratar a los administradores de la escuela ... 04
Consejo en como tratar con la junta escolar 05
Consejo en organizar y manejar al grupo 06
Otro (ESPECIFIQUE EN LA COLUMNA F) 07

ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE PERSONAS MENCIONADAS: ☐☐ 46-47/

A. INICIALES	B. RELACION	C. OCUPACION	D. RESIDENCIA	E. COMO/DONDE CONOCIO	F. TIPO DE AYUDA
1.	48/	49-50/	51/	52-53/	54-55/
2.	56/	57-58/	59/	60-61/	62-63/
3.	64/	65-66/	67/	68-69/	70-71/
4.	07/	08-09/	10/	11-12/	13-14/
5.	15/	16-17/	18/	19-20/	21-22/
6.	23/	24-25/	26/	27-28/	29-30/
7.	31/	32-33/	34/	35-36/	37-38/

BEGIN DECK 05

26. REFIERA AL PARTICIPANTE A LAS PERSONAS MENCIONADAS EN LA PREGUNTA 25. SI NO SE MENCIONO A NADIE PASE A LA PREGUNTA 28.

A. Nos gustaría saber si casi todas las personas que incluyó en la lista de amigos o conocidos se conocen unos a otros? MUESTRE AL PARTICIPANTE LA LISTA. ¿Diría Ud. que . . .

Todos se conocen	4	/
Casi todos se conocen	3	
Sólo la mitad se conocen	2	
Menos de la mitad se conocen	1	
Nadie se conoce	0	

B. ¿Son todas estas personas que ha incluido en esta lista de amigos y conocidos miembros del mismo grupo étnico que Ud.? ¿Diría Ud. que todos son del mismo grupo étnico, casi todos, la mitad, menos de la mitad o ninguno son del mismo grupo étnico que Ud.?

Todos	4	40/
Casi todos	3	
La mitad	2	
Menos de la mitad	1	
Ninguno	0	

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27. Ud. ha mencionado dos grupos de personas -- uno de personas con las cuales ha estado trabajando y otro de personas a las que acudiría para pedir ayuda. ¿Cuántas de estas personas que estan en una lista conocen a las personas de la otra lista?

Todos se conocen	4	41/
Casi todos se conocen	3	
La mitad se conocen	2	
Menos de la mitad se conocen	1	
Nadie se conoce	0	

28. ¿Conoce Ud. a algunos maestros, administradores o educadores que le pueda ayudar a solucionar problemas educacionales?

Sí .. (PREGUNTE A-E PARA CADA PERSONAL MENCIONADA) ... 1 42/
No .... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 29) 2

A. ¿Cuáles son las iniciales de esta persona? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA A.

B. ¿Es un maestro, administrador o que? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA B.

C. ¿Dónde vive esta persona: en este barrio ('1'), otra parte de la ciudad ('2'), o fuera de la ciudad ('3')? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA C.

HAND CARD D

D. ¿Qué tipo de ayuda le proporcionaría esta persona? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA DE ACUERDO A LA CLASIFICACION EN LA TARJETA D EN LA COLUMNA D.

E. ¿Trabaja esta persona en la escuela de la comunidad ('1'), una escuela en otra parte de la cuidad ('2'), o fuera de la ciudad ('3')? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA E.

ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE PERSONAS MENCIONADAS: ☐☐ 43-44/

A. INICIALES	B. OCUPACION	C. RESIDENCIA	D. TIPO DE AYUDA	E. LUGAR DE TRABAJO
1.	45-46/	47/	48-49/	50/
2.	51-52/	53/	54-55/	56/
3.	57-58/	59/	60-61/	62/
4.	63-64/	65/	66-67/	68/
5.	07-08/	09/	10-11/	12/
6.	13-14/	15/	16-17/	18/
7.	19-20/	21/	22-23/	24/

BEGIN DECK 06

29. ¿Cuál es su estado marital? ¿Está casado, vive con alguien, viudo, divorciado, separado o nunca ha estado casado?

Casado ..... (PREGUNTE 31 y 32)	1	25/
Viviendo con alguien .. (PREGUNTE 31 Y 32) ...	2	
Viudo ...... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 33)	3	
Divorciado . (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 33)	4	
Separado ... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 33)	5	
Nunca ha estado casado ....(PASE A LA PREGUNTA 33).	6	

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30. ¿Está incluido (su esposo/la persona con la que vive) entre esas personas que le podrían ayudar?

Sí .... (PREGUNTE A)	1	26/
No .... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 31)	2	

A. ¿Tendría esta persona un papel activo o de respaldo moral/papel pasivo en el problema escolar?

El probablemente tendría un papel activo	1	27/
El probablemente tendría un papel pasivo	2	
Otro (ESPECIFIQUE) ________________________	3	

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31. ¿Qué tan activo es (su esposo/persona con la que vive) en otras actividades no escolares aparte de las escuelas? ¿Es muy activo, algo activo, o nada activo?

Muy activo .... (PREGUNTE A)	2	28/
Algo activo ...... (PREGUNTE A)	1	
Nada activo	0	

A. SI LA RESPUESTA ES MUY ACTIVO O ALGO ACTIVO: ¿En qué clase de actividades participa? (Por ejemplo, "Boy Scouts", asuntos cívicos, clubes de servicio, etc.)

29-30/

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32. SI ESTA CASADA: ¿Cómo se siente su (esposo/persona con la que vive) con respecto al tiempo que Ud. pasa en actividades escolares? ¿Aprueba fuertemente, aprueba, no desaprueba o aprueba, desaprueba, desaprueba fuertemente?

Aprueba fuertemente	5	31/
Aprueba	4	
No aprueba o desaprueba	3	
Desaprueba	2	
Desaprueba fuertemente	1	

33. ¿Tiene Ud. parientes que viven en este barrio?

Sí ..... (PREGUNTE A) 1 32/
No 0

A. ¿Cuántas veces por semana se pone Ud. en contacto con sus parientes en este barrio? Por favor incluya visitas personales y conversaciones telefónicas.

ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE VECES: ________________ 33-34/

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34. ¿Tiene Ud. parientes que viven en otra parte de (CIUDAD)?

Sí ..... (PREGUNTE A) 1 35/
No 0

A. ¿Cuántas veces por semana se pone Ud. en contacto con sus parientes en otras partes de (CIUDAD)?

ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE VECES: ________________ 36-37/

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35. ¿En general contacta al maestro de su/sus hijo/s para pedirle una cita o en general espera a que el maestro lo contacte a Ud.?

En general contacto a los maestros .. 1 38/
Espero a que el maestro me contacte . 0

---

36. ¿Ha tenido algún contacto con los administradores de las oficinas del distrito?

Sí 1 39/
No 0

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37. ¿Ha ofrecido de manera voluntaria para ayudar a los maestros u otras personas que trabajan en la escuela?

Sí .... (PREGUNTE A) 1 40/
No ... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 38) 0

A. ¿Qué tipo de actividades voluntarias ha hecho?
(MARQUE CON UN CIRCULO TODAS LAS RESPUESTAS QUE SE APLIQUEN.)

Recabar fondos - ferias, venta de pasteles, etc..01 41-42/
Ayudar a los maestros en el salon de clase 02 43-44/
Ayudar a los maestros con viajes 03 45-46/
Clases particulares fuera del salon de clases ...04 47-48/
Trabajo en la oficina 05 49-50/
Ayuda en la cafeteria 06 51-52/
Asistencia en los recesos, campos de juego 07 53-54/
Ayuda en la biblioteca 08 55-56/
Otra (ESPECIFIQUE) ______________________________ 09 57-58/

PASE A LA PREGUNTA 39

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38. ¿Tiene Ud. tiempo de hacer trabajo voluntario en la escuela?

Sí 1 59/
No 0

39. PREGUNTE A TODOS:
¿Me podría dar una idea de como pasa la mayor parte del día?

Trabajo de tiempo completo 1 60/
Trabajo de medio tiempo 2
Cuidando niños 3
Haciendo quehaceres del hogar 4
Asistiendo a la escuela 5
Otro (ESPECIFIQUE)
____________________________ 6

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40. ¿Conoce Ud. algún grupo a nivel local/de la ciudad al cual un/a padre/madre pueda acudir para pedir ayuda en relación con problemas escolares?

Sí ... (PREGUNTE A-C) 1 61/
No ... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 41) 0

A. ¿Qué grupos conoce? ESCRIBA EN LA COLUMNA A DEBAJO Y PREGUNTE B PARA CADA UNO.

ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE GRUPOS MENCIONADO: ☐☐ 62-63/

B. ¿Alguna vez se ha puesto en contacto con este grupo? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA B. SI "NO" PREGUNTE C.

C. ¿Cree Ud. que alguna vez se pondrá en contacto con este grupo para solicitar su ayuda? ESCRIBA LA RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA C.

A. NOMBRE DEL GRUPO	B Ha tenido contacto			C Tal vez tenga contacto		
	Sí	No		Sí	No	
64-65/	1	0	66/	1	0	67/
68-69/	1	0	70/	1	0	71/
07-08/	1	0	09/	1	BEGIN DECK 07 0	10/
11-12/	1	0	13/	1	0	14/

41. ¿Conoce a alguien que sea miembro del Chicago School Board/La directiva Escolar de Chicago en una base personal? Esto es, alguno de ellos es su amigo o personas a las que encuentra en eventos sociales fuera de juntas escolares?

Sí ... (PREGUNTE A-C) 1 15/
No ... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 42) 0

A. SI LA RESPUESTA ES "SI": ¿A quienes conoce? ESCRIBA EL NOMBRE EN LA COLUMNA A DEL CUADRO A CONTINUACION Y PARA CADA UNO PREGUNTE B Y C.

ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE PERSONAS MENCIONADAS: ☐☐ 16-17/

B. ¿Cómo lo/a conoció? ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE LA RESPUESTA DE ACUERDO A LAS CATEGORIAS A CONTINUACION - EN LA COLUMNA B.

Nos hicimos amigas/os después de una junta escolar.01
En otra actividad de la comunidad (no escolar) 02
A través de amigos, parientes u otros contactos sociales 03
A través de contacto profesional o actividades relacionadas con el trabajo 04
Un vecino 05
Otro (ESPECIFIQUE EN LA COLUMNA B) 06

C. ¿Discute alguna vez problemas escolares con éste miembro de la directiva fuera de juntas escolares? MARQUE SU RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA C.

A. Nombre del miembro de la directiva	B. Como se conocieron	C. Discuten Problemas		
		Sí	No	
1. ______	______ 18-19/	1	0	20/
2. ______	______ 21-22/	1	0	23/
3. ______	______ 24-25/	1	0	26/
4. ______	______ 27-28/	1	0	29/
5. ______	______ 30-31/	1	0	32/

42. Ahora nos gustaría preguntarle sobre otras agrupaciones u organizaciones a las que pertenece aparte de la PTA (u otro consejo escolar). ¿Es Ud. miembro de una iglesia o templo, de un club social o de otra asociación en esta comunidad (barrio)?

Sí ... (PREGUNTE A Y B) 1 33/

No ... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 43) 2

SI LA RESPUESTA ES "SI":

A. ¿A cuáles organizaciones pertenece? APUNTE LOS NOMBRES ABAJO.

ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE LAS ORGANIZACIONES MENCIONADAS: ☐☐ 34-35/

B. ¿Tuvo alguna vez algún puesto en (NOMBRE DE LA AGRUPACION)? APUNTE LOS CARGOS O "NINGUNO" PARA CADA AGRUPACION EN LA COLUMNA "CARGO".

AGRUPACION/ORGANISMO		CARGO	
1. ______	36-37/	1. ______	38/
2. ______	39-40/	2. ______	41/
3. ______	42-43/	3. ______	44/
4. ______	45-46/	4. ______	47/
5. ______	48-49/	5. ______	50/
6. ______	51-52/	6. ______	53/
7. ______	54-55/	7. ______	56/
8. ______	57-58/	8. ______	59/

43. PREGUNTE A TODOS:

¿Pertenece a alguna otra organización fuera de este barrio o comunidad?

Sí ... (PREGUNTE A Y B) 1 60/
No ...(PASE A LA PREGUNTA 44) 2

SI LA RESPUESTA ES "SI"

A. ¿A cuáles organizaciones pertenece? APUNTE LOS NOMBRES ABAJO.

ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE LAS ORGANIZACIONES MENCIONADAS: ☐☐ 61-62/

B. ¿Tuvo alguna vez algún puesto en (NOMBRE DE LA AGRUPACION)?
APUNTE LOS CARGOS O "NINGUNO" PARA CADA AGRUPACION EN LA COLUMNA "CARGO".

AGRUPACION/ORGANISMO		CARGO	
1. ______	63-64/	1. ______	65/
2. ______	66-67/	2. ______	68/
3. ______	69-70/	3. ______	71/
4. ______	72-73/	4. ______	74/ BEGIN DECK 08
5. ______	07-08	5. ______	09/
6. ______	10-11/	6. ______	12/
7. ______	13-14/	7. ______	15/
8. ______	16-17/	8. ______	18/

44. Padres en algunos distritos escolares que estamos estudiando han recibido información y apoyo de representantes electos que les ha ayudado mejorar sus escuelas. A veces eran personas ya conocidas por ellos -- en otros casos simplemente les llamaron por teléfono.

Voy a leerle una lista de puestos gubernamentales, me gustaría que me dijera si conoce a la persona que lo representa en ese puesto. PARA CADA PUESTO PREGUNTE A. SI EL PARTICIPANTE CONOCE A ALGUIEN EN EL PUESTO PREGUNTE B. SI NO CONOCE A NADIE EN ESE PUESTO PREGUNTE C. (Primero/segundo) .

A. ¿Conoce a alguien en este puesto en su ("ward"/área, legislador, congresista, etc. distrito)? ESCRIBA SU RESPUESTA EN LA COLUMNA A.

SI LA RESPUESTA ES "SI":
B. ¿Cómo conoce a ésta persona? ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE ACUERDO CON LA CLASIFICACION A CONTINUACION O ESPECIFIQUE EN LA COLUMNA B.

Trabajé en una campaña	01
Funciones o mítines políticos	02
Mítines de la comunidad o funciones	03
A través de amigos, parientes u otros contactos sociales	04
A través de actividades profesionales o relacionadas con el trabajo	05
Un vecino	06
El participante hizo el contacto directamente	07
El representatne contactó al participante	08
Otro (ESPECIFIQUE EN LA COLUMNA B)	09

PREGUNTE A TODOS:
C. ¿Es probable que Ud. contacte a (esta persona/alguien en este puesto) para pedir información o ayuda sobre un problema educacional?

	A. Conoce a alguien			B. Como lo conoce o conoció			C. Es probable que le contacte		
	Sí	No		Sí	No		Sí	No	
"Committeeman" del área	1	2	19/			20-21/	1	2	22/
Capitán del precinto	1	2	23/			24-25/	1	2	26/
Superintendente del área	1	2	27/			28-29/	1	2	30/
Regidor o consejal	1	2	31/			32-33/	1	2	34/
Legislador estatal	1	2	35/			36-37/	1	2	38/
Senador o Congresista	1	2	39/			40-41/	1	2	42/

45. A continuación hay una lista de cosas que la gente dice que los padres deberían de hacer para ayudar a sus hijos para que les vaya bien en la escuela. Le voy a leer la lista y Ud. me dice si está de acuerdo o no está de acuerdo de que los padres deberían hacer estas cosas. (Primero/después) . . .

	De acuerdo	No estoy de acuerdo	
a. Ayudar a mis hijos con su tarea	1	2	43/
b. Tener un lugar especial en casa para que mis hijos hagan su tarea	1	2	44/
c. Limitar a mis hijos el tiempo que puedan ver la televisión	1	2	45/
d. Asegurarme que mis hijos hayan terminado la tarea antes de ver la televisión	1	2	46/
e. Revisar la tarea de mi hijo antes de que la entregue	1	2	47/
f. Me informo con la maestra de lo que mi hijo puede hacer en esa clase	1	2	48/
g. No permito que mi hijo goce de ningún privilegio si no hace su tarea	1	2	49/
h. Reviso los libros de mi hijo	1	2	50/
i. Me aseguro que mis hijos se acuesten a cierta hora todas las noches	1	2	51/
j. Le enseño a mi hijo como debe comportarse en la escuela	1	2	52/
k. Asisto a las reuniones de consejo de padres	1	2	53/
l. Me aseguro que el niño llegue a la escuela a tiempo	1	2	54/

---

46. Los padres de familia tienen diferentes actitudes sobre el papel que deben desempeñar ellos en asuntos de la escuela. A continuación presentamos cuatro actitudes que hemos encontrado. PREGUNTE A TODOS A Y B.

A. ¿Con cuáles actitudes estaba Ud. de acuerdo cuando matriculó a su hijo? MARQUE CON UN CIRCULO EN LA COLUMNA A.

B. ¿Cuáles describen o definen su actitud actual? MARQUE CON UN CIRCULO EN LA COLUMNA B.

HAND CARD E	A. Mi actitud al principio	B. Mi actitud ahora
1) Los padres no deben organizarse para cambiar la escuela. Si piensan que el programa escolar necesita mejoras deberían discutirlo con el director y dejarlo a él hacer lo que él crea más conviniente.	1	1
2) Está bien que los padres se organizen, pero dentro del PTA o de otro medio dentro de la escuela.	2	2
3) Está bien que los padres se organizen fuera del sistema escolar.	3	3
4) Está bien que los padres participen en boicots contra la escuela.	4	4

55/
56/

47. ¿Qué tipo de preguntas piensa Ud. que los padres deberían hacer para saber si la escuela es buena?

---

48. ¿Ve Ud. problemas serios en la (ESCUELA) o piensa Ud. que no hay problemas serios?

Sí ... (PREGUNTE A) 1 57/
No ... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 49) 2

A. ¿Cuáles son los problemas que Ud. vé? LISTE LOS PROBLEMAS EN LA COLUMNA A EN EL CUADRO A CONTINUACION.

B. Vamos a ver cada problema que Ud. mencionó. Primero (REFIERASE A LA 48A.) ¿Es este un problema, en el que Ud. esta trabajando para hacer algo al al respecto? MARQUE CON UN CIRCULO UNA RESPUESTA PARA CADA PROBLEMA MENCIONADO.

C. SI NO PARTICIPA: ¿Le gustaría participar haciendo algo con respecto a este problema?

A. Problema	B. ¿Participa Ud.?			C. Le gustaría participar?		
	Sí	No		Sí	No	
______ 58-59/	1	2	60/	1	2	61/
______ 62-63/	1	2	64/	1	2	65/
______ 66-67/	1	2	68/	1	2	69/
______ 70-71/	1	2	72/	1	2	73/

49. ¿Tiene algunos amigos/as allegados? Al decir "allegados/as" damos a entender aquellas personas con quien Ud. comparte cosas buenas y malas, y a quienes les pide consejos sobre problemas personales o preocupaciones? . . .

Sí ..... (PREGUNTE A) .... 1　07/
No ... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 50) .. 2

A. ¿La mayoría de estas personas allegadas viven en este distrito escolar (LOS PARTICIPANTES DE REGIONES URBANAS: BARRIO O COMUNIDAD) o fuera de él?

Mis amigos viven más bien dentro del distrito que fuera (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 50) .... 1　08/
Mis amigos viven más bien fuera del distrito que dentro (PREGUNTE B) 2
Más o menos la mitad viven dentro y la mitad fuera del distrito (PREGUNTE B) 3

SI LA MAYORIA DE LOS AMIGOS ALLEGADOS VIVEN FUERA O LA MITAD VIVE FUERA DEL DISTRITO:

B. ¿En dónde viven estos amigos allegados: en suburbios cercanos, la ciudad (cercana) o en alguna otra parte del país?

En suburbios cercanos .... 1　09/
La ciudad cercana 2
Otra parte 3
Los tres lugares 4

---

50. ¿En los grupos sociales a los que pertenece, encuentra que los problemas escolares son un tema de conversación frecuentemente, ocasional o poco frecuente?

Frecuente .... 1　10/
Ocasional 2
Poco frecuente 3

---

51. ¿Qué tanto tiempo pasa cada semana haciendo cosas en esta comunidad o barrio? ¿Diría Ud.?: LEA CATEGORIAS

Casi todo el tiempo .... 1　11/
Aproximadamente 75% 2
Aproximadamente 50% 3
Aproximadamente 25% 4
Menos de 25% 5

52. ¿Cuántas de sus actividades puramente sociales se llevan a cabo en este barrio? ¿Casi todas, aproximadamente el 75%, el 50%, el 25% o menos del 25%?

Casi todas 1 12/
Aproximadamente el 75% 2
Aproximadamente el 50% 3
Aproximadamente el 25% 4
Menos de 25% 5

---

53. Tomando todo en consideración, ¿qué tan feliz se siente de vivir aquí? ¿Diría que se siente muy felíz, bastante felíz, o no muy felíz, de vivir en este barrio o comunidad?

Muy felíz 1 13/
Bastante felíz 2
No muy felíz 3

---

54. SI LA ENTREVISTADA ES CASADA:

¿Qué tan felíz cree que se siente su esposo de vivir en este barrio? ¿Muy felíz, bastante felíz, o no muy felíz?

Muy felíz 1 14/
Bastante felíz 2
No muy felíz 3

---

55. ¿Tiene Ud. planeado quedarse en este (barrio/comunidad) al menos hasta que sus hijos terminen la escuela o piensa mudarse?

Pienso quedarme 1 15/

Pienso mudarme . (PREGUNTE A) 2

A. ¿Por qué piensa o planea mudarse?

16-17/

18-19/

---

56. ¿Vive Ud. en una casa o apartamento?

Casa ... (PREGUNTE A) 1 20/

Condominio . (PREGUNTE A) 2

Apartamento 3

Otro (ESPECIFIQUE Y PREGUNTE A)

________________________________ 4

A. ¿Es Ud. propietario o inquilino (renta)?

Propietario 1 21/

Inquilino 2

57. ¿Está Ud. actualmente trabajando de tiempo completo, medio tiempo, vá a la escuela, al cuidado de la casa o qué?
MARQUE CON UN CIRCULO UNA RESPUESTA SOLAMENTE, SI HAY MAS DE UNA DE PREFERENCIA AL NUMERO MENOR QUE SE APLIQUE.

HAND
CARD
F

Trabajando de tiempo completo (PREGUNTE A-C)	1	22/
Trabajando medio tiempo . (PREGUNTE A-C)	2	
Sin trabajo, desocupada ("laid off"), buscando trabajo	3	
En la escuela	4	
Cuidado de la casa	5	
Otro (ESPECIFIQUE) ______________________	6	

A. ¿Qué tipo de trabajo hace? Esto es, ¿cómo se le llama a su trabajo?
SI TIENE MAS DE UNO PREGUNTE POR EL TRABAJO PRINCIPAL.

OCUPACION: ____ 23-24/

B. ¿Qué es lo que hace en su trabajo? ¿Cuáles son las principales responsabilidades?

C. ¿Dónde se encuentra su trabajo? ¿Es en (Comunidad), la Ciudad, otro suburbio, o dónde?

(Comunidad)	1	25/
Ciudad	2	
Otro suburbio	3	
Otro (ESPECIFIQUE) ______________________	4	

58. SI ES CASADA:

¿Está su esposo actualmente trabajando de tiempo completo, medio tiempo, vá a la escuela, al cuidado de la casa, o qué?
MARQUE CON UN CIRCULO UNA RESPUESTA SOLAMENTE, SI HAY MAS DE UNA,
DE PREFERENCIA AL NUMERO MENOR QUE SE APLIQUE.

HAND
CARD
F

Trabajando de tiempo completo (PREGUNTE A-C) 1 26

Trabajando medio tiempo (PREGUNTE A-C) 2

Sin trabajo, desocupado ("laid off"), buscando trabajo 3

En la escuela 4

Cuidado de la casa....................... 5

Otro (ESPECIFIQUE) ______________________ 6

A. ¿Qué tipo de trabajo hace? Eso es, ¿cómo se le llama a su trabajo?
SI TIENE MAS DE UNO PREGUNTE POR EL TRABAJO PRINCIPAL.

OCUPACION:____ 27-28/

B. ¿Qué es lo que hace en su trabajo?
¿Cuáles son las principales responsabilidades?

C. ¿Dónde se encuentra su trabajo?
¿Es en (Comunidad), la Ciudad, otro suburbio, o dónde?

29/

(Comunidad) 1

Ciudad 2

Otro suburbio 3

Otro (ESPECIFIQUE)

____ 4

59. ¿Hasta qué año fue a la escuela? ¿Cuál fue el último año que terminó?

Alguna primaria o menos	01	30-31/
Sexto año	02	
Alguna "junior high"	03	
Completó "junior high"	04	
Alguna secundaria	05	
Completó la secundaria	06	
Algún Colegio	07	
Cuatro años de Colegio, B.A. o B.S. ..	08	
Maestría	09	
Doctorado	10	
Título de derecho o medicina	11	
Otro (ESPECIFIQUE) ____________________	12	

---

60. ¿A qué religión pertenece? ¿Es Ud. protestante, católica, judía, musulmana o de otra religión o no pertenece a ninguna?

Protestante	1	32/
Católica	2	
Judía	3	
Musulmana	4	
Otra ESPECIFIQUE SU RELIGION, IGLESIA O DENOMINACION. ____________________	5	
Ninguna o ateista (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 62)	6	

---

61. SI EL PARTICIPANTE PERTENECE A UNA RELIGION:
¿Pertenece Ud. a una organización religiosa? Esto es a una iglesia o templo?

Sí ... (PREGUNTE A Y B)	1	33/
No ... (PASE A LA PREGUNTA 62)	0	

A. ¿Es Ud. miembro activo en esta organización religiosa o no es miembro activo?

Activo	1	34/
No activo	0	

B. ¿Esta organización religiosa se encuentra en (la comunidad) o en otra parte de (ciudad)?

Comunidad	1	35/
Fuera de la comunidad	2	

62. Por razones estadísticas nos gustaría saber a qué grupo racial o étnico pertenece. ¿Con cuál grupo étnico o racial se identifica Ud. más fuertemente?

Latino ... (PREGUNTE 63) 01 36-37/
Polaco 02
Italiano 03
Irlandés 04
Alemán 05
Otro grupo o más de uno
(ESPECIFIQUE)
________________ 06
Ninguno 07

---

63. SI EL PARTICIPANTE ES LATINO:
A. ¿Dónde nació?

PAIS: ______________________ 38-39/

B. SI EL PARTICIPANTE NACIO EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS PREGUNTE:
(1) ¿En qué país aparte de los Estados Unidos nacieron los parientes de su mamá?

______________________ 40-41/

(2) ¿En qué país aparte de los Estados Unidos nacieron los parientes de su papá?

42-43/
____

---

64. En general se considera Ud. Republicano, Demócrata, Independiente u otro?

Republicano 1 45/
Demócrata 2
Independiente 3
Otro (ESPECIFIQUE)
________________ 4

---

65. ¿Está Ud. registrado para votar en (Ciudad)?

Sí ..... (PREGUNTE A) 1 46/

No 0

A. ¿Votó en las últimas elecciones?

Sí 1

No 0

---

66. ¿En cuál de las siguientes categorías de edad se encuentra Ud:
LEA LAS CATEGORIAS

Menos de 25 .... 01 47-48/
25 - 29 02
30 - 34 03
35 - 39 04
40 - 44 05
45 - 49 06
50 - 54 07
55 o más 08

COMENTARIOS DE LA ENTREVISTA

1. Hora en la que la entrevista terminó: ☐☐ : ☐☐ A.M. 1 49-53/
P.M. 2

---

2. Sexo del entrevistado o participante: Masculino 1 54/
Femenino 2

---

3. Raza aparente del entrevistado o participante:

Blanco, no de origen hispano	1	55/
Negro, no de origen hispano	2	
Hispano	3	
Asiático/Islas del Pacífico	4	
Indio americano/Nativo de Alaska	5	

---

4. Duración de la entrevista ☐☐☐ minutos 56-58/

---

5. Fecha de la entrevista ☐☐☐☐ 59-62/
Día Mes

FIRMA DEL ENTREVISTADOR: ______________________

DE IDENTIFICACION
DEL ENTREVISTADOR: ☐☐☐☐☐ 63-67/

APPENDIX C-5

SUPPLEMENT FOR PARENT LEADERS

CONFIDENTIAL

BEGIN DECK 01

Study 4289
March 1980

National Opinion Research Center
University of Chicago

SOCIAL NETWORK STUDY

CASE NUMBER: ☐☐ ☐☐☐

DATE OF INTERVIEW: ________________

INTERVIEW GUIDE

PARENT LEADERS SUPPLEMENT

TIME BEGAN: ____________ AM / PM

NAME: __________________________

1. Now we'd like to ask a few questions about the other parents in this school and your involvement in the (PTA/Parent Council).

First of all, approximately what percentage of parents would you say belong to the (PTA/Parent Council) in this school?

90% or more	1	07/
Between 75% and 90%	2	
Between 50% and 75%	3	
About 25%	4	
Less than 25%	5	

---

2. About how many parents typically attend your PTA meetings?

RECORD NUMBER: ____________________ 08-09/

A. How many do you consider a good turnout for a PTA meeting?

RECORD NUMBER: ____________________ 10-11/

---

3. What percentage of the mothers in this school currently hold full-time or part-time jobs?

Hold full-time jobs: ______________ % 12-13/

Hold part-time jobs: ______________ % 14-15/

---

4. Can you estimate what percentage of mothers in this school do any volunteer work in the school?

RECORD PERCENT: ____________________ 16-17/

A. What kind of activities does this usually involve? CODE ALL THAT APPLY.

Helping teachers with class trips	1	18/
Assisting teachers with classroom	2	19/
Assisting in library	3	20/
Assisting in lunchroom	4	21/
Other (SPECIFY) ______________________	5	22-23/

____

5. Have you held any training programs for parents this year?

Yes .... (ASK A) 1 24/
No .... (ASK B) 2

A. IF YES: What did this training involve? RECORD VERBATIM.

25/

B. IF NO: Do you see any need for training parents in this school?

Yes .... (ASK C) 1 26/
No .... (GO TO Q. 6) 2

C. IF YES TO B: What do you think the training should involve? RECORD VERBATIM.

27/

---

6. Have any school board members met with your school's PTA this year?

Yes 1 28/
No .... (ASK A) 2

A. IF NO: Does your PTA plan to meet with a school board member this year?

Yes 1 29/
No 2

---

7. About what percentage of parents in this school would you estimate are in the poverty category? That is, what percent of the total enrollment are in this category?

RECORD PERCENT: ________________ 30-31/
Don't know 98

---

8. Is this school eligible for Title I?

Yes 1 32/
No 2
Don't know 8

9. Are there any women on your PTA board whose families are in the poverty category?

Yes 1 33/
No .... (ASK A) 2

A. IF NO: What ways do you have to find out about the educational concerns of families in the poverty category?

34/

---

10. Are there any women who work on your (PTA/Council) board?

Yes 1 35/
No .... (ASK A) 2

A. IF NO: What ways do you have to involve working women?

36/

---

11. Do you have any estimate of the percent of the children in this school who come from single parent households?

Yes ..... RECORD PERCENT: ______________ 37/
No 98 38-39/

---

12. How about minority enrollment--by that we mean students in the non-white category--black, Hispanic, and other non-English speaking. What percent of this school's enrollment are children from these families? First/Next . . . RECORD PERCENT OF EACH ETHNIC GROUP.

Black .... ______________ % 40-41/
Hispanic .... ______________ % 42-43/
Other (SPECIFY BELOW) ... ______________ % 44-45/

____

13. Is the (PTA/Council) at all involved in the educational programs offered for these children from minority families?

Yes .... (ASK A & B) 1 46/
No .... (ASK B) 2

A. What does the (PTA/Council) do in relation to these programs? RECORD VERBATIM.

47/

B. Do you believe the (PTA/Council) should be involved in these programs?

Yes 1 48/
No 2

---

14. Does the (PTA/Council) receive information on the achievement of the students in this school? For example, the number of children reading at different grade levels, the discrepancy between student ability and achievement, or other similar information?

	Yes	No	
PTA gets information on reading levels	1	2	49/
PTA gets information on discrepancy between ability and achievement	1	2	50/
Other (SPECIFY) ______________________	1	2	51/

A. IF (PTA/Council) RECEIVES NO INFORMATION ON ACHIEVEMENT: Do you believe the PTA should receive this type of information?

Yes 1 52/
No 2

B. IF (PTA/Council) RECEIVES ABOVE INFORMATION: Does the PTA disseminate this information to the other parents in the school?

Yes 1 53/
No .... (ASK C) 2

C. IF NO TO B: Do you believe the (PTA/Council) should disseminate this type of information?

Yes 1 54/
No 2

15. Suppose a group of parents from this school asked the (PTA/Council) to support a special interest--for example, a program for children with learning disabilities. Would the (PTA/Council) in this school be likely to help these parents work to get the program or would the parents have to form their own group to get it?

The (PTA/Council) would support the parents .. (ASK A & B) .. 1 55/

The parents would have to form their own group .... (ASK A-C) ... 2

Other (SPECIFY)

________________________________ 3

A. Have you personally given advice or help to an ad hoc parent group?

Yes 1 56/
No 2

B. Have you ever participated as a member of an ad hoc parent group to promote a special interest?

Yes 1 57/
No 2

C. Why wouldn't the (PTA/Council) support the parents' interest? RECORD VERBATIM.

58-59/

---

16. In some school districts parents have set up an ombudsman service for parents. That is, a service that assists parents in resolving their children's educational problems. For example, if a child has been suspended and the parent and student are not familiar with their rights. Do you think the (PTA/Council) should provide information on parent/student rights?

The (PTA/Council) should provide information on rights 1 60/

The (PTA/Council) should not provide information on rights 2

A. Should the (PTA/Council) provide any other assistance such as recruiting another parent to accompany the parent if s/he feels uncomfortable in dealing with school administrators.

Yes 1 61/
No 2

B. Does your (PTA/Council) provide such a service?

Yes 1 62/
No 2

C. Why do you feel this way?

63/

17. How would you rate your own ability to deal with these four issue areas: budget, curriculum, personnel selection, and contract negotiations. By ability we mean previous training or experience to understand the issues and adequate information on the problems of this school district. For each area would you say that your ability is excellent, good, fair, or inadequate? First/Next, . . .   CIRCLE ONE CODE ONE EACH LINE

	Ex-cellent	Good	Fair	In-adequate	
Budget	3	2	1	0	64/
Curriculum	3	2	1	0	65/
Personnel selection	3	2	1	0	66/
Contract negotiations	3	2	1	0	67/

18. We're interested in when you became active in the (PTA/Council) and what motivated you to spend so much time working in this group.

A. Do you recall when you first joined the (PTA/Council)?

RECORD YEAR: 19 ________   68-69/

B. At that time, did you have any friends who also became active?

Yes 1   70/
No 2

C. How about now, when you think about your friends in this neighborhood, would you say that most of your friends are very active in the (PTA/Council), somewhat active, or not active?

Most friends are active 1   71/
Most friends are somewhat active 2
Friends are not active 3
Other (SPECIFY)
________________________________ 4

D. What are the various positions that you have held in this school's (PTA/Council)? RECORD VERBATIM.

72/

E. FOR MIDDLE SCHOOL AND HIGH SCHOOL PRESIDENTS ONLY:
What offices did you hold in the (PTA/Council) at the elementary school level? RECORD VERBATIM.

73/

BEGIN DECK 02

18. (Continued)

F. About how much time would you estimate you spend on (PTA/Council) activities each month during the school year?

One day or less	1	07/
Two to three days	2	
Between three and five days	3	
Between five and ten days	4	
Other (SPECIFY) ________________	5	

G. About how much time would you estimate that you spend on (PTA/Council) activities each month during the summer?

One day or less	1	08/
Two to three days	2	
Between three and five days	3	
Between five and ten days	4	
Other (SPECIFY) ________________	5	

H. Can you think of any important decisions that you have been able to influence through your positions in the (PTA/Council)?

Yes .... (ASK a)	1	09/
No	2	

a. IF YES TO H: What (was that/were they)?

10/

I. In what ways, if any, has your work in the (PTA/Council) helped to develop your personal skills? PROBE FOR SPECIFICS.

11/

J. Besides your work in the (PTA/Council), have you volunteered to work on any school projects?

Yes	1	12/
No	0	

18. (Continued)

K. Have you ever been selected to serve on a school advisory committee?

Yes 1 13/
No 0

L. Do you have any plans for volunteer work or a career after your children are grown--or in the near future?

Yes .... (ASK a) 1 14/
No 2

a. IF YES TO L: Which do you think it will be: working or volunteering?

Working 1 15/
Volunteering 2

ASK EVERYONE:

19. What would be your estimate of the number of fathers that are active in this school?

RECORD NUMBER: ________________ 16-17/

---

20. How do you explain the level of fathers' involvement in this school? RECORD VERBATIM.

18/

---

21. Do you see a need for fathers to be more involved in their children's education?

Yes 1 19/
No 2

TIME ENDED: ____________ AM / PM